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minimised alienation of Papuan land and controlled recruitment, payment of wages and the employer's treatment of labour.

No money was devoted to public education under Murray's rule. Social improvement programmes were largely confined to village inspections, at which law and order, hygiene and road maintenance were imposed by patrol officers under penalty of prison sentences. Hamlets were consolidated into larger villages, as these were easier to patrol. Villages were ordered, for their own good, to plant commercial tree crops.[10] Education was entrusted to the missions; health services were left either to missions or to employers. In 1919, a head tax was imposed upon the Papuans.

By a gentlemen's agreement between the Protestant denominations, a specified portion of the Territory of Papua was given to the exclusive pastoral care of each of them. North-East Papua, from Cape Dulcie to the German border, became Anglican territory. The centre of the mission was at Dogura, Milne Bay District, where the first Bishop of New Guinea, Montagu Stone-Wigg, established his court in 1898. That year, missionaries were sent to set up stations all along the coast of the diocese, at Cape Vogel, Manigela, Gona and as far north as the Mambare River.

The New Guinea Mission soon set about adding to its staff by building one more advanced school at Dogura, to which it sent the most promising students from the village schools, in the hope that these could be trained as priests and deacons. The Mission thus offered responsibility to Papuans very much earlier than any other White institution in the Territory. In 1967, the bishop of the Northern District diocese, as well as a number of priests and virtually all mission teachers were Papuans, often drawn from the Northern District tribes.

Experience with miners, government and mission in the Northern District led rather quickly to the emergence of adjustment cults, notably the Baigona and Taro Cults[11] arising respectively in 1912 and 1914. Though Worsley (1957: Ch. III) classifies them as non-millenarian, he recognises them as having been a political threat to the Australian authorities. Doctrines of unity, co-operation and comradeship between formerly hostile tribes were central to the Taro Cult. Cult leaders dissociated themselves from the Christian missions and claimed a special bond with Jesus Christ. Although the Northern District never developed cargo cults of the classical type, even in later years, there is a constant undercurrent of what one may call millennial thinking, which is of great concern to the government even today.

The Second World War. A new era in Papuan history began when the Japanese invaded New Guinea in January 1942 and, in June 1942, landed at Buna, in the Northern District, with the intention of crossing the Owen Stanley Range and taking Port Moresby. They were checked at the Kokoda Trail by Australian and American forces who by January 1943 drove them from the Paupan mainland. According to Lucy Mair the Japanese were not unpopular until they began to plunder gardens and round up pigs, a course to which they resorted when the Allied navy blocked their supply lines (Mair 1948: 199). The Orokaiva mostly took to the bush where they lived in temporary shelters and grew German taro.

Army administration introduced a new tone in human relations. Australian troops, in their dealings with Papuans, applied egalitarian attitudes prevalent in

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TABLE II/8

ENROLMENT IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS OF THE ANGLICAN MISSION IN THE NORTHERN DISTRICT

(*Source*: Department of Education, Popondetta)

	1966	*1967 (Est.)*
Preparatory Classes	1,775	1,845
Standard 1	1,290	1,307
Standard 2	1,563	1,581
Standard 3	1,278	1,298
Standard 4	1,275	1,310
Standard 5	693	708
Standard 6	488	498
Total	8,362	8,547

Note: Some schools offered classes up to Standard 2, some up to Standard 3, some up to Standard 4, while only a few schools offered classes beyond that level. Children unable to obtain transfers to schools offering classes at a higher level might stay at school for a year or more after finishing the highest available grade. This explains the unusual statistical pattern.

development. By 1967 two important moves had been made: the arterial road between Buna and Kokoda was being rebuilt and linked to the main coffee-producing villages by a system of access roads, built with the assistance of taxes raised in villages. 648 657 491

The educational services have not, so far, been very closely integrated with economic development goals. Many of the schools in the Northern District are conducted by the Mission. While the objectives of many of the Mission schools are still primarily religious, and the teaching staff has only rudimentary training, some of them do prepare students for further education at the secondary level, and provide recruits for skilled occupations. The Sasembata school attended by Sivepe children falls within that category. Chances of passing a qualifying examination for secondary schooling are good and from that point adequate financial assistance is usually available to students. Villages such as Hohorita and Inonda, lacking such opportunities, and having access to only two or three years of elementary schooling, cannot hope to have any but the brightest students advance to secondary education. As the language of instruction is English in all schools, those who do not advance beyond elementary grades do not become acquainted with concepts relevant to development objectives.[12] 871 872 797 [191]

Local Government Council. The Higaturu Local Government Council, formed in 1956, serves about 15,000 Orokaiva, comprising the Popondetta, Sohe-Popondetta and Saiho census divisions. In 1966 the main activities of the 657

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Orokaiva Coffee-Grower Society, a producers' co-operative formed for the purpose.

The Council is made up of twenty-six Orokaiva members who are paid a monthly stipend. However, in practice a government adviser attached to the Council appears to determine policy. Indigenous attitudes to the Council are analysed in detail in Schwimmer 1967. Together with the Coffee Society, it has offered the Orokaiva some political participation and the importance of this new departure is vividly recognised by the people.

The New Age. Since the Second World War, a great many ideas from the outside world have been communicated to the Orokaiva. I have already mentioned economic, and some political ideas; in addition, the Anglican mission began to attract many converts, especially after the Mount Lamington disaster. By 1964, the great majority of Orokaiva were baptised.

The establishment of the House of Assembly in Port Moresby, giving limited powers of political decision to Papuan representatives elected by universal suffrage, has introduced new patterns in village life: meetings with the local member, with other candidates, and with organisers acting for these candidates and presenting political argument. The personnel of the local government council tends to be deeply committed in national politics and to talk about political affairs when visiting villages.

During such discussions, the Orokaiva are beginning to learn that an end to Australian rule is conceivable and that they will have some voice in decisions relating to the independence of their own country. They fully recognise that this makes an immediate difference to the balance of power between themselves and

TABLE II/10

EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL EXPERIENCE OF THE JEGASE AND SEHO CLANS OF SIVEPE COMPARED – ADULT MALES ONLY

Approximate Period	*Education*		*Occupational Experience*	
	Seho	*Jegase*	*Seho*	*Jegase*
Nil	6	6	4	5
1 year	–	1	1	2
2 years	–	2	1	–
3 years	–	1	–	–
4 years	–	2	–	2
5 years	–	–	–	1
6 years	–	1	–	–
7 years			–	–
8 years			–	–
Over 8 years			–	4
Data vague	2	1	2	–
Total	8	14	8	14

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222 4 Orokaiva: *tauga*; botanical: *cycas media*; Orokaiva: *puga*; botanical: *terminalia okaria*. There are two varieties of breadfruit, called *oga* and *eumba*. They are both somewhat unusual but I failed, in spite of sending samples, to obtain indentifications.

241 5 Details of garden production are given in Table II/3. Rainfall at Sivepe and Inonda is shown in Rimoldi 1966:109; Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:100.

342 6 A plan of a contemporary Orokaiva house is shown in Fig. 3. Recent changes in house design, house construction and domestic amenities are summarised in Table II/4.

462 7 See Tables II/5 and II/6. Williams' data are taken from an unpublished manuscript and appeared first in Schwimmer 1969:226. I have discussed the Orokaiva division of labour in more detail in Schwimmer 1969: 145–50 and explained the apparent discrepancies between Williams' table and Waddell's and Krinks' statistics.

439 437 8 Crocombe and Hogbin (1963) provide a list of prices prevailing in this trade. They report that there is still some trade in shell ornaments from the coast and in feathers for head dresses from the mountains. Informants at Eroro, on the coast near Buna, gave me details of their traditional trade with Managalasi of the nearby mountains. A Sivepe man who has hunting rights to land near Ajoro goes there to hunt birds and sell the feathers. His chances of finding any of the more valuable birds near Sivepe are remote. The difference in Sivepe and Inonda patterns (i.e. the foothills and the alluvial plains) appears from the data in Table II/7. It will be seen that Sivepe stock is to a far greater extent inherited, whereas Inonda stock is to a far greater extent acquired through brideprice (value $13), barter (value $21.60) and other exchanges (value $13.70).

439 438 437 9 Dr. Waddell has provided a detailed statistical table of the geographical distribution of subsistence produce (Waddell and Krinks 1968:218). This table provides clear and detailed information on the geographical range of the Sivepe exchange network. A full descriptive account may be found in Schwimmer 1969: 41–69.

648 10 An interesting picture of this period of Orokaiva history is drawn in Beaver, 1916.

795 11 Full information on these cults will be found in Chinnery and Haddon (1917) and Williams (1928). If has escaped previous commentators that Bia, who started the taro cult, was employed for some years by Monckton, and participated in various punitive enterprises with an alacrity most pleasing to his master. He was described in Monckton's books in rather revealing detail (e.g. 1921: 185, 268, 269, 295, 308; 1922: 10, 13, 65, 136, 172, 214, 216). For the present relationship between the Orokaiva and the missions, see Schwimmer 1969; 123–33.

971 872 797 657 648 12 The general subject of Orokaiva economic development since 1951 is very fully covered in numerous bulletins published by the New Guinea Research Unit from 1963 to the present, and also in Schwimmer 1969. A general indication of the investments in socio-economic development is given by a table of public expenditure in the territory of Papua for the years ended 30 June 1961 to 1965 (Commonwealth of Australia: *Annual Report of the Territory of Papua for the period 1 July 1964 to 30 June 1965*, 179). The growing emphasis on educational services is perhaps the most notable aspect. Table II/8 indicates the pattern of school attendance. Table II/9 summarises the activities of the Higaturu Local Government Council; roads, water supplies and clinics are perhaps the projects most relevant to development.

101 13 The three villages have been sketched in figures 4, 5 and 6. Education and occupational experience at Sivepe and Hohorita are analysed in Tables II/10 and II/11.

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CHAPTER IV

THE EXCHANGE SYSTEM AND THE NEW AGE

1. *Cultural Changes*

Many significant changes have occurred in Orokaiva society since European contact. The introduction of cash cropping has made the Orokaiva, to some extent, into a peasantry, depending to a limited degree on monetised marketing. Furthermore, there has been a large amount of labour migration, mostly by male workers whose families stay behind in villages. Even in the villages, technological innovations have been influential in raising productivity and improving standards of living, while sharply reducing the game population. People have become accustomed to the existence of a specialised political authority, wielded by Australians but supported and assisted by Papuan functionaries. Inter-village and inter-tribal warfare has been effectively suppressed. The Orokaiva give at least nominal allegiance to Christianity, and thus to the principle of obedience to an omnipotent god.

These changes have profound implications for Orokaiva political philosophy. As we have seen, the Orokaiva recognised the importance of Hobbes' question: how can a man avoid a perpetual war between all and all? The answer, briefly, was that social order can be created by a system of exchange partnerships. But this was not Hobbes' own answer nor that of the Australians who now rule New Guinea. If the changes pursued by the colonial government are wholly successful, it is clear that exchange partnerships, as the basic source of social order, must become subordinate to legitimate central political authority and the modern market economy. In other words, there is what Gluckman calls a 'contradiction' (1965: 109) between Australian policy and the exchange-oriented Orokaiva social philosophy. It is possible, but cannot be predicted, that this 'contradiction' will eventually lead the Orokaiva to abandon their traditional exchange ideology. In the meantime, however, it is already clear to the Orokaiva that their world view is being seriously challenged by white wealth and power.

The effect of pressure on the exchange system is evident in many spheres. In the economic sphere, the Orokaiva still carry on most of their non-monetary transactions by the traditional system, using gift exchange between consanguines, affines and bond friends. Furthermore, gifts of money are being made along traditiopal lines, money being used either as a substitute for *hambo* and other valuables, or as gifts from urban migrants to country kin. On the other hand, store-bought goods are, by a general convention, excluded from the full operation of the exchange system, only a minority being distributed as gifts. The

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177 Christ and perhaps other supreme sources of which they have no knowledge, but
657 these ultimate sources mostly seem inaccessible to the Orokaiva; the people
[789] know their information to be poor and unreliable. Nonetheless, as the councillor from Hohorita remarked, it has been found by experience that the gifts deriving from the government have often been good ones. The relationship is therefore worth maintaining as it may produce further valuable gifts in the future. (This widely held opinion, incidentally, is the bane of Papuan progressives, who are pressing for immediate independence of the Territory from Australian rule).

Although, in an attempt to make my meaning clear, I have spoken of the magic of 'development', it is important to point out that the term 'development' has not been borrowed, to my knowledge, in Orokaiva speech. The Orokaiva term is *iji eha* (the new day), a phrase occurring, for instance, in the passage quoted from Councillor Ase's address. The *iji eha* has come about, as we have seen, as the result of the gifts of a new *dema*, Jesus Christ. One of these gifts was a permanent peace, to replace the permanent state of *isoro* of earlier days. But this gift was accompanied by new commandments. Councillor Ase emphasised the casual connection between the gift and the commandments: 'As a new day has now arrived (*oroho evi iji eha avo eto*,), I tell you to be united.' Like *isoro*, so the *iji eha* requires unity, but for the sake of struggles of a different kind: the building of a new village, the growing of coffee and rubber, the support of school education. The commandments of the *iji eha* are in effect community development.

177 It may thus be said without hyperbole that community development among
657 the Orokaiva has a mythological charter – namely, the Christian religion as the
●797 Orokaiva understand it. It acts as a mediating element between the Orokaiva and the European power-bearers: it is the magic whereby a relation of social exchange may be established between the former and the latter and whereby the Orokaiva may eventually become the equals of the white man in wealth and power.

177 But the second mediating element in this relationship is the councillors,
657 through whom the government's information must pass to reach the people.
623 They do not play the role of leaders but of mediators in a rather limited sense. In their contact with the government (mainly confined to contact with the advisory officer to the council), they receive information and hear council decisions in the formulation of which they generally have no part. The flow of information tends to be from the government to the councillors rather than in the reverse direction. This one-sidedness suits both parties, but especially the councillors, who gain little but may lose much by adding to the government's knowledge. At the village level, the councillor tends to become the chief mouthpiece of the *iji eha*. He is expected to report faithfully, and in detail, what he has heard from the government. His advice will be asked on matters related to council activities, but most of the time it is the councillor himself who takes the initiative and harangues the villagers. He does not expect all his advice to be accepted; he may even have private doubts about some of what he is
[191] transmitting. A Sivepe ex-councillor even had the habit of reporting on all council matters in Motu, a *lingua franca* used at council meetings because the advisory officer does not know Orokaiva. Most Sivepe people understand some
[554] Motu. By speaking in Motu to his fellow-villagers, the councillor built up his own

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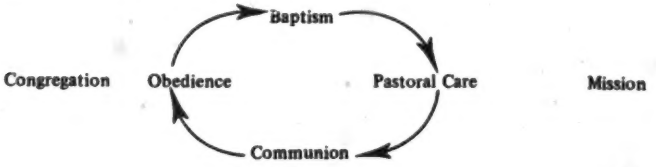
status while at the same time establishing some distance between his official performance and his private self. Even when a councillor does not resort to so extreme a device, his role is a highly formalised one, as the values underlying his message are very strange to him. The *iji eha*, as communicated at the council meeting, is almost outside his mental grasp. He has heard the details but cannot see the pattern. (The council meetings are not suited to the communication of the complex patterns of Western civilisation.) Fortunately his audience is usually warm and sympathetic to his message and shares with him the mood, the 'feeling' of the *iji eha*, if little else.

4. *The New Day, the Mission and Divine Retribution*

Relationships with the mission in the Northern District have usually been of two main types. When a mission station was first established, exchange relations between Orokaiva and the station began immediately. The mission offered schooling, medical services and largesse of various sorts. The Orokaiva offered land and labour. These were direct exchanges requiring no mediating elements. The mission was usually in no great hurry to begin baptising converts, preferring to let interested persons rise gradually from the status of hearer to catechist and conferring baptism some years later. Although coastal stations were established around the turn of the century, it was only after the Second World War, when a considerable number of stations and outstations were established inland, that the majority of Orokaiva came within reach of mission influence. The Sasembata station[5] serving Sivepe was not opened until 1945 and had no baptisms until 1953. The bulk of the population of that village was converted between 1953 and 1964.

It was then that the second, and more complex, phase of the relationship started. In the first phase there had been a great deal of contact between people and mission station, especially because of the educational services that were offered, but it was only in the second phase that these contacts became religiously significant. We may express the emerging relationship in the following diagram:

MODEL 8



Although this exchange cycle seems, on the surface, to represent more or less the relationship between any Christian and his Church, it seems arbitrary to select from the complex set of mediating elements enriching the fullness of such a relationship as commonly understood just these two sacraments, important as they are. It is only in the light of the Orokaiva understanding of the Church that

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177 these two sacraments became pivotal, while the rest of Church life, however
797 deeply experienced, seems to be a supplementary benefit. I am speaking, be it understood, of a group of rather recent converts.

553 When I asked informants why they had joined the Church I was given one
551 invariable answer: 'to receive a new name.' The meaning of this is clear and
797 unequivocal, and follows from information already published by Williams (1930: 97, 175–7). An Orokaiva, under the traditional system, might have three types of name: (1) a 'name proper' (*javo be*) taken from a stock of names used by his father's or mother's patrilineage and conferred at birth; (2) one or more nicknames (*javo isapa*) which may be acquired at any age; (3) assumption by the slayer of the name of the slain. Williams reported that there was also a common habit of bestowing the victim's name upon the child of the slayer. The name of the slain is adopted as a distinction, and as a means of acquiring the latter's *ivo*. Baptismal names fall within this third category, for what the Orokaiva regards as obvious reasons.

First of all, baptismal names are never Orokaiva names, but are chosen from a large stock known to servants of the Church. Some are recondite names (Cephas, Stanislaus, Gemima), other are a combination of the Christian and surnames of missionaries (Dick Stafford, Nancy White). All these names, used by the mission for baptismal purposes, are reasonably regarded as names belonging to Jesus Christ. Now, Christ was slain by His enemies. After His death, those who adopted one of His names were saved and obtained great wealth and power.
[778] White men are powerful because they obtained the *ivo* of this slain Man. The mission gave Orokaiva the opportunity to acquire one of these names too, if they obeyed its rules. Thus a baptismal name fulfils the same function as was fulfilled by the adoption of the name of the slain. *Ivo* can now be obtained without the need to kill a human victim; in fact, it has now become not only useless but evil to kill people in order to assume their names. The baptismal name has taken their place.

An important parallel between the two kinds of name is that a person cannot confer either upon himself. This can be done only after a person has gone through rituals of purification by a man of great purity and renown. The eating of the body of the slain can confer *ivo* only if this communion food is a gift from some other person; similarly, bread and wine are spiritually potent only if given by a priest in a proper ritual. I have already pointed out the similarity perceived by Orokaiva between communion and the traditional rite of eating slain victims. Communion may be called the culminating ritual of the *iji eha* when Jesus Christ fully becomes the celebrant's spiritual ancestor, much in the manner of Totoima, and with similar potent effects.

797 This sketch is not at all intended as a criticism of the mission. On the
177 contrary, time probably has to pass before the Orokaiva can move from their present identification with the Church to the internalisation of its values. And it has been argued (e.g. Kelman 1962) that identification is often a necessary preliminary of change. Even the degree of change described here has been by no means easy to achieve. The ideology of the *iji eha* which underlies the present acceptance of socio-economic programmes as well as of Christianity, was long
[829] resisted by Orokaiva, even after the Second World War. A premise of this acceptance has been a growing opinion that the Western world order was indeed

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so formidable and irresistible as to leave open no other option. For many Orokaiva, this became a certainty only as a result of what to us would seem an entirely unconnected event, namely the Mount Lamington eruption of 1951. The effect of this eruption on Orokaiva ideology is worth a brief analysis here because it provides evidence that the 'new day' ideology is still essentially based on the traditional exchange-oriented Orokaiva philosophy. We find that the cataclysm was universally ascribed by the Orokaiva to the breakdown in an exchange relationship with some *dema*, and that many believed this *dema* to have been the Christian God. On the basis of this theory, the Orokaiva were led to search for more effective mediating links between themselves and these powers, so as to avoid similar misfortunes in the future. Development activity and baptism were the most important of the mediating elements in which they placed their faith.

As I have already published a full survey of Orokaiva explanations of the eruption (Schwimmer 1969), my summary here will be brief. In 1966, during visits to Inonda, Hohorita and Sivepe, I interviewed a number of survivors about the explanation of the disaster given by people *at the time it occurred*. All informants were agreed that at that time the increasing rumbling in the mountain, the tremors, the smoke issuing from the crater, the showers of ash, the emission of stones and fiery particles, and finally the Peléan eruption, were all ascribed to the anger[6] of Sumbiripa, the god of the mountain, though there were varying explanations of the probable cause of that anger. These statements tallied with published evidence from two clergymen, both present in the Northern District at the time of the eruption, who refer to the people's fear of the anger of Sumbiripa (Tomlin 1951, Benson 1955).

Evidence of a different kind comes from two anthropologists (Belshaw 1951, Keesing 1953) both of whom interviewed survivors a few weeks after the disaster. Belshaw summarises Orokaiva explanations as follows:

> Some people said that this was God's visitation because they had disobeyed the Bishop's instructions to build new churches. Others said that God had punished them because they had not helped the Allies sufficiently during the war and because some of them had betrayed missionaries to the Japanese. (Others again mentioned) lack of co-operation in Mission and Government plans for development. (1951: 242)

Keesing agrees with this summary, adding that the eruption resulted in 'strong feelings of insecurity and even of guilt in their retrospective look at the pre-eruption way of life'.

Many resident Europeans, including the Bishop of New Guinea, the Most Rev. David Hand, confirmed Belshaw's and Keesing's account, but the Bishop told me that the mission has since discouraged the Orokaiva from thinking that the Christian God harboured anger against them and expressed it with such indiscriminate violence.[7] Hence this explanation is no longer heard. People nowadays believe that the eruption was caused by the anger of Sumbiripa or, if they wish to display a modern scientific attitude, they will repeat what they have been told about vulcanology.

Explanations based on the anger of Sumbiripa, the government and the Christian God resemble each other in that they are all based on the concept of a

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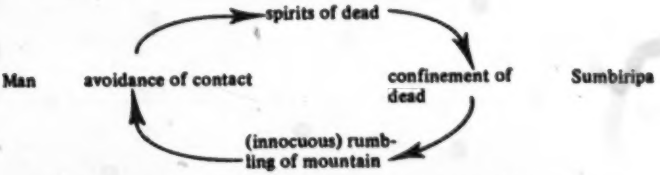
784 social exchange relationship in which the Orokaiva thought they had defaulted.
823 In the case of Sumbiripa, this relationship was a rather special one as Sumbiripa's
795 gift is the safe confinement of the dead, whereas man's gift is avoidance of any disturbance of Sumbiripa's mountain. Man mediates the relationship by sending his dead to Sumbiripa, whereas Sumbiripa mediates by emitting his usually innocuous rumbling. Before 1951, Sumbiripa had never erupted in living memory. We may express this in the following diagram:

MODEL 9



One theory of the eruption was that man had broken the exchange relationship by hunting on the mountain with guns. This disturbance angered Sumbiripa so that instead of innocuous rumbling he emitted the full blast of his immense and disastrous fury. The effect of breaking the exchange relationship with the Church was thought to be disastrous in precisely the same way. Just as the rumbling of the mountain suddenly became lethal instead of benevolent, so the 'communion' offered by the Church suddenly turned negative, dispensing retributive justice instead of mercy. Similarly, default in a social exchange relationship between human beings may lead the wronged person to give Alter misfortunes and diseases through sorcery, instead of the benefits he would otherwise bestow. If a relationship is broken, the wronged partner may respond by invoking negative mediating elements to obtain redress.

823 This dangerous trend may be reversed by expressing repentance, and by
797 receiving forgiveness (see models 1 and 3).[A] Subsequently, the offender will be more careful, if he is prudent, to stop the relationship from breaking down. Thus, after the eruption, the Orokaiva became more careful to carry out development activity (model 7)[B] and seek baptism (model 8).[C] The fact that the Anglican Mission denied that God had been angry would in no way diminish their solicitude, as such denials are always issued by offended exchange partners as part of the ritual of showing their forgiveness. Detailed empirical evidence given elsewhere (Schwimmer 1969) in fact shows that the eruption speeded up the development of the *iji eha* ideology among the Orokaiva. It would be wrong, however, to suppose that the supernatural fear propelling the Orokaiva towards development and baptism was due to a cruel deception by the mission or to irrational self-deception on the part of the people. It may equally well be regarded as a case of rational choice. It is not at all irrelevant to emphasise that development and baptism, in fact the whole *iji eha* ideology, was a sensible direction for the Orokaiva to take. The explanation of the disaster which they adopted was not a blind reaction to external vicissitude but rather the strategic reinforcement of a mythical charter for institutions mediating a valuable

A [See Category 829, pp. 58-9--Analyst]
B [See Category 657, p.75--Analyst]
C [See Category 797, p. 77--Analyst]

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relationship. They could conceivably have chosen a different explanation which would have provided a charter for the reinforcement of quite different relationships. If the eruption had not happened at all, the Orokaiva would most probably have taken the same direction, but the charter validating development and baptism would have been weaker for some time. It may be that the exchange ideology would have weakened before development started. The eruption, however, seems to provide Church and government with a most formidable arsenal of negative sanctions in case the relationship is ever broken through the fault of the Orokaiva. We may conclude that the Orokaiva, by their belief in a new kind of divine intervention (through the *dema* figure Jesus Christ), have been encouraged to make new types of economic, social and religious exchanges, while maintaining their assumption of an exchange-oriented universe, and that their philosophy has provided them, at least for a time, with a workable rationale for the contemporary world.

REFERENCES

1. The traditional time concepts of the Orokaiva are probably mainly restricted to what Evans-Pritchard (1939) called 'oecological' and 'structural' time. It is, however, very likely that they also had 'an historical perspective of their own, whatever its depth may be' – rather similar to the one described by M. Panoff for the Maenge (1968). Such a perspective would include not only the *dema* but also the scission of lineages and the settlement of villages. An Orokaiva described lineage fission to me by drawing a tree on the ground – using precisely the same symbolism as Panoff's Maenge informants. Orokaiva stories of the settlement of villages also abound, usually giving the name of the tree by which the settlers 'sat down' when they arrived.

Pocock (1964) has argued that as culture change becomes more rapid under the impact of European contact, traditional time concepts undergo structural transformation to make them more nearly explanatory of the actual course of events. I believe that the identification of Jesus Christ with a *dema*, as argued in this chapter, is an example of such structural transformation.

2. For the location of Torogota, see Fig. 10.
3. Information on this point was derived from several local planters, including Mr. C. E. Searle of Awala. See also Howlett 1965.
4. Details on communication channels between government and people are given in Schwimmer 1967, 1969.
5. The Sasembata mission station is not in Sasembata village but just north of Kongohambo. See Fig. 10.
6. Reay has reported that 'the natives had no knowledge, or legend, of an earlier eruption' (*apud* Taylor, 1958: 21). My own study (Schwimmer 1969) suggests that this view, while not strictly incorrect, needs to be modified. My sources are tape-recorded myths and Miss Nancy White's manuscripts (White, n.d.).
7. Interview with Bishop Hand, January 1967.

[p.82 is blank]

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
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One might well regard such immoderate claims as the response to a breakdown in the social exchange relationship. According to model 17, increased rights over land should mediate an *increased* quasi-filial allegiance, implying an increased willingness to aid and share with maternal relatives. Such, however, was rarely in evidence. On the contrary, most coffee-growers, engrossed in the new task of growing coffee, tended to ease up on their family obligations, gave fewer feasts and were apt to neglect their maternal relatives. This was especially so because Church influence reduced the scope of initiation ceremonial which is one of the traditional key functions of the maternal family. Certainly the maternal family hardly shares at all, under normal circumstances, in the increased wealth generated by coffee-growing. Thus the uterine landowner feels relatively alienated from his affluent nephew.

In order to demonstrate the importance of quasi-filial allegiance as a factor in land transactions, I shall cite one case, again from Inonda, where coffee gardens are being run profitably on land over which the grower holds only 'permissive' rights. The three coffee gardens established in 1955, and still harvested in 1967, are on land owned by the Endehi'undi clan but relinquished after a defeat in war. It has been used by Andiriha of Inonda since 1915. When Inonda people started to grow coffee, Endehi'undi reclaimed this land. Inonda paid $32 in cash, as well as pigs, traditional valuables and taro, in other words, a very substantial consideration (Crocombe and Hogbin *ibid.*: 73) After a few years, as Andiriha continued to benefit from the coffee, it became obvious that Endehi'undi did not regard this consideration as a *sale* price as Andiriha hoped they would do. They saw it as no more than a proper display of quasi-filial allegiance, and expected this sort of gesture to be repeated, or to recover the land.

The Andiriha leader now invited a widower belonging to the Endehi'undi group to move into his household. The invitation was accepted and in 1967 the old man was still there. There was no further trouble over the coffee although Andiriha did not tempt fate by making further plantings. By Orokaiva legal concepts, the balance was restored. By a shrewd manoeuvre, the Andiriha leader had found a way to offer increased quasi-filial allegiance in such a way that the profit from the coffee gardens was not reduced too much.

Instances of this kind help us to understand what was involved in the Orokaiva system of residual or dual rights over land and dual allegiance owed by individuals to different families from which land useholds are derived. We have long tended to believe that the basic co-operating groups in primitive societies are *corporate* groups. The Orokaiva data presented here show a second possibility: namely a system by which individuals derive their land, and therefore their sustenance, from a cluster of corporate groups in only one of which they are a corporate member, although they maintain permanent exchange relationships with the others. These other corporations do not make them permanent gifts but leave them conditional upon the successful continuation of the relationship. The fact that a man holds land on such terms *forces* him to continue the relationship.

It is impossible, therefore, to say just what constitute 'residual' rights in land. In the example I analysed, it appears that a group's rights include rights to coffee when it lives in another village, but not when a member of that group stays in the house of one of the growers and is fed by that grower's wife. Perhaps the

5: Schwimmer . E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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4. *Additional Data on* Otohu

Discouragement of initiation ritual by the Anglican mission and the consequent weakening of the institution greatly hampered me in obtaining the additional data needed to clarify Williams' account. Unable to attend any ceremonies, I had to depend almost entirely on interviews. Most adults still own *otohu*. The men usually receive them at initiation, the women either at initiation or, quite often, at the time of marriage. In about half the cases the father was the donor; in most other cases it was the mother's brother. One man who had been elected a member of the Higaturu Local Government Council, was honoured with an *otohu* by his wife's father.

With regard to initiation ritual, the seclusion of boys is no longer practised and the period of seclusion for girls tends to be much shorter than in earlier days. It is, however, rarely shorter than three weeks and sometimes still lasts for some months. The influence of the mission is given as the reason for the changes. When I asked why the modern custom for girls differs from that for boys, I was told that if girls were not secluded and subjected to the full ritual, they would be unable to control their menstrual flow; they would contaminate the village and sicken.

Kogumbari often occurs on the occasion of Christian festivals such as Easter, when the girls, fully dressed up, are 'shown to the people' during a dance on the mission ground. The white missionaries are unaware of the significance of the event. It appears that two ceremonies (puberty seclusion and initiation) to which adolescent girls used to be subjected have been reduced to one, which takes place upon the commencement of menstruation. *Otohu* are bestowed either then or upon marriage.

Boys receive their *otohu* at ceremonies which have become known as 'birthday parties', one of which is fully described by Crocombe (1966). The whole ceremony, including the conferral of *otohu*, usually occurs in a single weekend or at Christmas and a drinking party is sometimes given to the people by the father of the initiand. I never managed to attend one of these occasions but suspect that in many villages the ritual still involves the appearance of *embahi*. I have knowledge of one instance in a village close to Sivepe in 1967.

I was able to obtain additional data, relevant to the puzzle of the nature of the *otohu*, on two main topics: the role of the mother's brother and the role of the *aguma*. According to Orokaiva ideal norms, as stated to Williams (1930: 187) and myself, the mother's brother (*epe*) is the proper relative to perform initiation. This rule, like all others, is frequently broken, but it is worthy of mention that if there is no *epe* available to officiate, there is absolutely no preference for finding a uterine kinsman as a substitute: any other male consanguine is considered suitable, and in fact a father or father's brother often officiates. When Orokaiva informants were asked why mothers' brothers have this special relationship with their nephews, I was always told it is due to the love between the mother and her brother, in other words the *du* relationship. It is definitely not due to any special bond with the matrilineage or maternal patrilineage.

Bestowal of the *otohu* is only one of a series of ritual benefits customarily provided by the *epe*. These benefits take the form of medicines (*sivo*). A man

Community rice and cocoa projects

797 In 1948, the Christian Co-operative Movement was formed by Father Clint of the Anglican Mission at Gona. The movement spread spontaneously throughout the Orokaiva country, though most of the co-operatives were only nominally 474 linked to the mission.(1) The main activity of the co-operatives [241] was the growing of rice, but some grew subsistence foods also, [258] and others made copra. Although the movement was referred to as a co-operative, its agricultural activities were in most cases communal: all participants were supposed to work at the same time and to undertake whatever work was allotted to them by the group leaders, and the benefits derived were to have been shared equally. Moreover, at least some villages required all resident adult males to participate in the scheme.

621 In most instances the village worked as the unit of [243] production, but in some cases several neighbouring villages worked together. Some large villages were divided into one or more groups for the purpose of the community rice garden. Each group had a committee of management and a chairman.

461 In general Monday and Tuesday of each week were set 794 aside for work on the community gardens. Official patrol reports noted that the movement had taken on many aspects of a cult. All stages of work were associated with an unusual amount of religious activity and the tools and buildings of the co-operatives were treated with great veneration. Keesing (1952 : 7) speaks of an "absorbing mystical context" and of rumours that Europeans would leave Papua as a result of the co-operatives. An official observer stated that the people considered "mere participation in the co-operatives would, 797 magically or mystically, quickly raise their status in all re- spects to that of Europeans". Orokaiva people have pointed 461 out to us that cash cropping projects initiated by the government had invariably failed. They felt that a mission project might be more successful. Moreover, whereas they were uncertain of the government's motives they felt the mission to be "on the side of the people", for by introducing them to co-

(1) The co-operative movement in this area is described in more detail in Dakeyne, 1963.

operatives they had given them the key to European prosperity. 461 [797]

Local enthusiasm was strong and a large acreage of rice was grown. However, no marketing facilities had been provided and although the mission had promoted the crop mainly to supplement traditional subsistence foods, most Orokaiva seem to have regarded it as a cash crop. They already had a plentiful range and volume of subsistence foods, and rice was not only harder to grow but also more difficult to prepare than the existing crops. Most of the rice grown was neither sold nor eaten, but was left to rot in the storehouses. 243 433

It is interesting to note that at Ongoho, despite the unfortunate experience with other community crops, all inhabitants of the same nine villages came together to plant a single rice plot. The project was organized by Haruma, the coffee boss, and the rice was planted on the land of the Akute'undi sub-clan. The crop was planted in 1949, and the rice was stored in a house built for the purpose. None of the rice was sold, a little was used for food, but most was left to rot. The experiment was not repeated. When asked why everyone combined to grow the rice instead of growing it individually, the people claimed that they had not realized at that time that cash crops could be grown by individuals. This view may seem incredible to a European, but we have heard it quoted in many parts of the Orokaiva area. Their whole experience of cash cropping had been of large scale enterprises, whether private European plantations, government plantations (which were established adjacent to many district headquarters), compulsory plantings under the regulations, or communal plantations under the ordinance. The introduction in 1955-6 of the concept of cash cropping by individuals was in a very real sense revolutionary. (1)

The idea of community economic activity was again given a boost in 1949 when war damage compensation was paid out. A small proportion was paid in cash, but most was deposited in savings bank accounts. Many government officers then in the area noted that the money was being used to buy 434 454 474

(1) It must be pointed out, however, that among the Orokaiva food gardening had always been undertaken by individuals. [241]

474 foodstuffs and for ceremonial exchanges and some urged the people to deposit their compensation money in a central fund for use by the community as a whole. Many leaders took this advice and collected large sums for the co-operatives. Some of the money was kept in the villages, but some was contributed to central funds which were held on a tribal or sub-tribal basis.

Few of the leaders had the technical knowledge to know how to handle the funds or to apply them to productive projects, and much of the money was dissipated in unproductive [657] activities. About 1950 government Co-operative Officers were sent to assist the establishment of formal co-operatives and to save the many existing informal co-operatives from disintegration with consequent public loss of faith. The officers were able to make headway in some instances, but in other cases the funds were already exhausted and the people disillusioned. In cases where the funds remained, the government insisted on their being handed back to the original contributors before any official co-operative was formed (Belshaw, 1951 : 250).

657 Efforts to increase indigenous participation in com-
24 mercial agriculture in the Northern District in the post-war decade had met with little success and in 1954 the Department of Native Affairs resumed pre-war patterns of promoting commercial agriculture. Additional police were stationed in the area, particularly on the inland side of the Kumusi River but to [466] a lesser extent among the Orokaiva also. One policeman was based at each of a number of villages and each village was required to clear a community garden for cocoa planting.

The Department of Agriculture staff did not favour any extension of community planting and put its emphasis on individual cash crop gardens but, in the early stages at least, this action was strongly opposed by both the mission and the •[777] patrol staff. Missionaries who were involved feared that individual cash cropping would lead to abandonment of the villages as each individual would probably want to live near his own cash crop garden. They felt that this would result in a reduction of religious and educational activity and may lead to a resurgence of non-Christian practices. Patrol staff too opposed individual plantings at that time, in some instances it seems because of an erroneous notion that traditional agriculture was

C2 obscure any important differences in structure and our historical
36 data are not complete enough to permit of consistent distinctions,
[162] according to size, between 'hamlets' and 'villages'. The village
[632] of Sivepe now has a population of 120 and is linked with Binduta, several hundred yards away, and with Nahihita half a mile away, to form a unit in Administration censuses. The 3 villages, together with Awala No.2,[1] form a local government council electorate.

131 Sivepe is situated on the western bank of the Sohu River, a
491 tributary of the Kumusi River, about 25 miles by road south-west
[133] of Popondetta and roughly 7 miles north-west of the crater of Mt Lamington. It is on a jeep road leading from Kendata, high on the Mt Lamington slopes, to Awala, which lies 3½ miles north of Sivepe on the Kokoda-Popondetta road. The minor road was constructed in about 1944 following the route of an old track. Between Awala and Sivepe it is marked by the sites of 9 abandoned villages, first visible indication of the history of close settlement on the country it traverses.

797 There were very few facilities for formal education in this
871 tribal area until shortly after the second world war when a number of mission schools, staffed by Papuan teachers, were established through the area and 'minor elementary education was brought to over 90% of children of a varied age range' (Belshaw 1951.:2).

An Anglican Mission primary school was established at Sasembata, 1 mile south of Sivepe, in 1945 and a European teacher has been on the staff since 1951; 9 of the 13 children of approximately school age in the group we studied now attend.[2] Some children from Sivepe are pupils at Martyrs' Anglican Mission school several miles away at Agenahambo. A primary T school[3] was established at Awala in 1961 but no Sivepe children are pupils there.

Several villagers regularly attend the church at Sasembata, which is in the charge of a Papuan priest, and most make periodic use of the medical services provided by the mission sister. Some women consult an infant welfare clinic formerly available at the mission on alternate Tuesdays and some have joined a women's sewing class held on Wednesdays.

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1 To be distinguished from Awala 2, the 'hamlet group'.

2 The ages of pupils in the 4 grades would range roughly from 5 to 15 years.

3 A government school for Papuans at which the curriculum is adjusted to the needs or sophistication of the local pupils - as distinct from primary A schools, attended almost wholly by European children, where the syllabus is set by the N.S.W. Department of Education.

177 time the process of readjustment and restoration was still a
648 major question demanding attention. A few years later the third misfortune occurred.

731 The eruption of Mt Lamington, which caused catastrophic loss of life and dispossessed many people of their land,[1] left deep impressions on the minds of the survivors, particularly an acute sense of guilt which has been widely remarked upon. They felt that God had punished them for not helping the Allies enough during the war, and for not heeding the wishes of the mission and the administration. Some observers ascribed both the marked spirit of co-operation noticeable in evacuation camps and the avowed intentions of many to obey government directions in the future, to these negative feelings (Belshaw 1951:3-6; Keesing [101] 1951:5). By this time 'population trends indicate that with the present percentage of children, there are likely to be consider- [464] able increases in the future' (Plant 1951:4). The area was closed for recruiting but this did not solve the problem of the [797] supply of labour for reconstruction because men were drawn back to their casual jobs on local rubber plantations and the mission asked each village to work a day a week rebuilding mission stations (Belshaw 1951:8).

657 After the war, compensation was paid for property of the
[731] villagers which had been damaged or destroyed, and following the eruption a programme of resettlement and rehabilitation was instituted.

121 For our investigations, Sivepo was chosen from the villages in
127 the Saiho Census Division mainly because it had been one of the sample villages in the Survey of Indigenous Agriculture conducted by government departments of the Territory and of Australia on behalf of the Food and Agriculture Organization's World Survey of Subsistence Agriculture. Information from the survey has provided quantitative material which, though summary, is directly comparable with results of our short survey of subsistence cultivation. The F.A.O. survey's sample was chosen by statistical methods.[2]

121 The interest which governed our own selection of a sample of
125 manageable size from among Sivepo villagers - and comparable with

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[1] Several thousand of the Orokaiva on the slopes of the volcano were killed by the clouds of hot dust emitted at about 200 m.p.h. and 200°C. Sivepo was just beyond the limits of the area destroyed. The villagers spent about a year's enforced absence in evacuation camps (see p.76), but some neighbouring people who survived were absent from their land for far longer periods.

[2] Walters 1963:4.

342 [476] required to build the short pig fence protecting the average garden. A house is replaced by intermittent work on construction over a period of several weeks.

476 Co-operation with households outside the expanded family is usually on the basis of assistance given for a day or two by an individual to fulfil some kinship obligation or to help a neighbour who is sick. Any assistance a man receives usually comes from individual kin rather than a working party composed of his agnates. 614 This may be because Sivepe is one example of the type of Melanesian societies where clans or their segments 'are small and communities composed of several, permitting local endogamy' and co-operation with local kin and affines dilutes the strength of the unilineal group (Brown 1962:68).

461 [164] The work patterns we recorded are summarized in Table 4. The figure for the time taken up by sickness (including caring for the sick) was affected by the facts that during the survey 2 householders suffered from lengthy bouts of malaria (1 was hospitalized) and that some women needed to attend to their sick children; the figure for travel was affected by the absence for several days of 1 householder and his wife who walked to Popondetta where they had business at the District Office.

132 461 The extreme weather conditions experienced during our survey - 26.3 inches of rain in 1 month with 25 wet days followed by a long period without rain - restricted both the range of subsistence activities possible and to some extent the time available for them. The amount of time devoted to subsistence and cash crop gardening was appreciably lower during each of 3 weeks which were marked by the celebration of non-traditional festivals. [797] Several villagers were among a group of 100 people baptized as Anglicans at Sasembata Mission.

795 461 During the week this occurred the women of the sample devoted more time to preparing for and attending the ritual than to economic activities. The men also spent more time than usual in the village, several of them building or repairing houses. Most of the men spent several hours watching the baptism itself. Although the baptism differed from the life-crises traditionally celebrated by feasts, a number of small independent gatherings to mark the transition were held afterwards in the village by the close kin of those baptized.

796 461 Religious observances were accorded a little more time during the week of Christmas than in normal weeks. There were no festivities within the village to mark the occasion and church attendance was the only organized Christmas celebration except for ceremonial at Saiho which a few Sivepe people attended on 461 Boxing Day. Several people were disabled by attacks of malaria at the time but few of the others considered these 2 days as

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

461 In 1944 attempts were made to revive the communal plantations but employment by the American military in the Inonda-Oro Bay area and other work for Allied troops made the people revise their ideas on the value of their labour[1] and resulted in a general lack of enthusiasm for the cash cropping schemes.

731 The eruption of Mt Lamington and the subsequent floods destroyed many villages and gardens and some 5,000 survivors had to be evacuated to refugee camps at Oro Bay and Ilimo. While the majority were resettled within four months, 1,500 people from within a 'danger area' of eight to twelve miles around the active crater were obliged to remain at Ilimo camp until July 1951, or live with clansmen elsewhere, and re-occupied their villages only over a period of years.[2]

731 Many Orokaiva viewed the disaster as divine punishment, in
823 particular for their lack of co-operation with governmental and mission programmes,[3] and they were reported to deeply appreciate the extensive relief measures, including food, tools and medical
464 services, provided by the Administration. Subsequent Administration reports remark on the willing co-operation of the people in voluntary road construction and their renewed interest in cash cropping.[4] However, once the need for producing food as a relief measure had passed, all staff of the Department of Agriculture were withdrawn from the District. Interest waned and was reported to be 'completely dead' in 1953.[5]

(d) Activities of the Anglican mission

797 Apart from very limited activity by Seventh Day Adventists in the Pongani area and Lutherans among highland labourers at Sangara, the Anglican church is the only mission working in the Popondetta sub-district. It first established itself at the Mambare River in 1900 and activities were gradually extended southward along the coast, but it was not until the 1930s that stations were established among the inland Orokaiva, at Isivita and Sangara. In 1965 the

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1 Patrol Report, Higaturu, 1543/44; Crocombe 1964:21.

2 See Rimoldi 1966:45-6 for a fuller description.

3 Belshaw 1951b:242; Keesing 1952:18. However, some informants viewed it as punishing the Europeans (thirty-four of whom were killed) either for the hangings at Higaturu and Sangara, or for not having provided the Orokaiva with education and access to income.

4 This was in part an expression of the high prices obtaining during the Korean War.

5 DDA, Popondetta, DS-17-4-5.

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

principal mission stations were located at Gona, Eroro, Popondetta, Agenahambo, Eiwo and Sasembata. There are now few people not within walking distance of a church or primary school[1] or accessible to a priest or deacon.

The Christian Co-operative Movement has been the mission's only commercial venture in the area. It was initiated at Gona in 1946 and comprised a number of small, village-based co-operatives. The Rev. Alfred Clint was recruited specifically to organise these, and his activities led to their rapid growth among the Orokaiva,[2] the collection of large sums of money and the appearance of many informal societies. As the scheme was primarily concerned with the production of annual crops - rice, peanuts and traditional food crops - large gardens, frequently exceeding twenty acres, were established and worked communally.

In 1947 DASF established a station at Popondetta and attempted to legalise and supervise the development of the movement. A variety of new crops, including oranges, mandarins, pomelos, tomatoes and cucumbers, were introduced through the station by free distributions of seeds.

Despite early enthusiasm no societies survived beyond 1953. This was due partly to loss of the leaders at a critical stage, partly to the fact that whereas Rev. Alfred Clint stressed the Christian aspects of the movement and viewed the introduced crops largely as a means of dietary improvement, the people sought economic advancement, particularly cash income. Moreover, appropriate processing equipment and outlets for the rice were not provided. Cult and protest aspects in the movement have also been identified[3] and a lack of achievement in this context might also have hastened its dissolution.

The role of the mission has been essentially that expressed by the Dominical command - 'Go preach, teach, baptise'.[4] Schooling and evangelism were closely related and only since 1947 have real efforts been made to improve the quality of secular education.[5]

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[1] Belshaw (1951a:2) estimated that more than 90 per cent of the children over a varied age range were receiving some sort of elementary education.

[2] Rev. Alfred Clint's movement is described in detail in Dakeyne 1966a. The first co-operatives to be registered in Papua-New Guinea were the Yega, Gona, Carara and Buna co-operatives, all in 1949.

[3] Belshaw 1951b:250; Crocombe 1964:29-30.

[4] See Coaldrake 1964:1-6.

[5] Initially by attempts to standardise the syllabus and subsequently by drawing increasingly on syllabuses prepared by the Administration's Department of Education.

797 The majority of Papuan teachers remain unqualified teacher-evangelists although the mission is largely responsible for education in the sub-district at the primary, secondary and technical levels. A significant feature of their education programme as a whole remains its total disregard for agricultural training, except incidentally at the Martyrs' Memorial Secondary School where the pupils maintain a coffee garden as well as their own food gardens.[1]

[743] [657] Medical work has already formed a large part of the mission's activities and most mission stations operate a clinic and small hospital while a T.B. hospital is maintained at Embi. As with education, these activities are largely standardised by the Administration and the Department of Public Health is gradually taking over from the mission in this field.

(e) Recent developments in commercial agriculture

241 In 1941 a European planter obtained an agreement, under the Transactions with Natives Ordinance 1893-1935, to exploit the communal rubber plantations in the Awala area.[2] These had not previously been worked. Production commenced in 1943 and continues to date, interrupted only by the Mt Lamington eruption. However, the number of plantations incorporated in the scheme fell steadily and by 1965 only about 30 stands were being worked and tapping had become irregular. This is due partly to poor communications, partly to the fact that an agreement satisfactory to all parties was never arrived at and partly to the planter's own trees coming into full production.[3]

[245] The re-opening of Popondetta agricultural station in 1954 led to a renewal of interest in cash cropping with, in particular, the extensive planting of cocoa. By 1964 there were estimated to be 491,000 indigenous-owned coffee trees in the sub-district, 244,000 cocoa trees, 25,700 rubber trees (almost entirely the product of natural increase) and 108,000 coconut trees. This pattern of steadily increasing plantings only levelled off temporarily in 1959-60 with falling coffee prices, a shortage of coffee seed and inadequate marketing arrangements for cocoa. At the time labour

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[1] However, agricultural training at several levels has been available since 1955 at DASF's Popondetta Agricultural Station (now Popondetta Agricultural Training Institute).

[2] These had been established during the first world war in that part of the District considered too far inland for worthwhile copra production. There were 137 stands in all.

[3] For a detailed description see Rimoldi 1966:86-93.

than might have been expected.[1] However, the withdrawal of the relief teams, including agricultural officers, after the emergency, may have left the people in a psychologically and technologically deprived state, thus further inhibiting their concern with commerce.

The instability of settlement consequent upon these disturbances may also have impeded the evolution of such new forms of leadership and effective group action as have occurred among the Tolai.[2] The careers of such new leaders as were emerging, perhaps with wider group loyalties, have frequently ended catastrophically at important points.[3]

(iii) Lack of co-ordination between the Anglican mission and the Administration. Keesing (1952:21-2) refers to the 'delicate' matter of 'Government versus Mission responsibilities' and alludes to the 'rivalry' between them in connection with the post-Lamington rehabilitation programme.[4] These two agencies are the most potent external forces operating on Orokaiva society and their activities and demands are not co-ordinated, thus accentuating the difficulties of implementing a consistent development policy. Their demands on the villagers' time may conflict, and their views on such important matters as the purpose of education, the role of the teacher and the role of commerce are at variance. The Anglican mission has no formal representation at the policy-making levels in the District though it has great influence in the villages.

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[1] Sjoberg, an authority on disaster research, states (1962:363): 'A typical adaption [to disaster in pre-literate societies] is resignation to one's fate. When catastrophe is thought to be engendered primarily by spiritual forces, man can himself do little to alter the course of events apart from recourse to religious and/or magical practices. Recall that he assumes the immutability of the natural-divine order, which includes also the social arrangements about him. Add to this the meagerness of technological know-how of the sort that would be useful in disaster rehabilitation and we see that mute acceptance of one's lot is the logical result.'

[2] See Salisbury 1962:338.

[3] For instance, the 'renegade' leaders hanged at Higaturu and Sangara; the administrative staff, teachers and the twenty priests-in-training who died at Higaturu in the Mt Lamington eruption, and the Orokaiva leader of the co-operative movement who also died at that time. Many of the most talented Orokaiva are serving outside the region in government, missions and commerce.

[4] Belshaw (1951:248) makes a similar allusion.

438 are supplied by villages within two or three miles of the township whereas the meat and fish may come from much further afield, since
435 their weight/value ratios are much higher than for vegetables. One pound of pigmeat sells for 10c - the price of four taros averaging eight pounds weight. Prices in the markets are standardised and
[434] not dependent on supply or demand. Those who sell meat or fish can earn worthwhile sums, since a wallaby may fetch $4 but, in general, marketing is a significant source of income only for people from the less densely-settled areas or the coast where fish or wild game are plentiful.

464 (iii) Wage employment. Several categories of wage employment are available to villagers from time to time. The construction of new all-weather roads within the sub-district has recently increased the opportunities for temporary employment as unskilled labour.[1]

The Administration frequently makes contracts for the supply of timber or the erection of buildings from local materials and both Sivepe and Inonda profited by these during the survey period. The contract may be made with an individual, who pays the others from the proceeds, or a group.

There are some opportunities for casual employment on plantations,
[461] but most planters prefer to employ workers from outside the Orokaiva area because they are less likely to be simultaneously involved in subsistence tasks and traditional obligations. Moreover, such work is not popular with the Orokaiva, who prefer to work for relatives
[465] holding blocks under the ex-servicemen's settlement scheme at Sangara, Isavene or Girua. Individuals or whole families may stay with relatives or friends in this way, sometimes for several months. No formal agreement is entered into and the villagers may work only intermittently, in return for their keep and, at the end, a sum of money and additional payment in kind (tinned meat, rice, sugar, etc.). In some cases, however, regular payment is made at the official casual rate of $3 a week. Work of this kind is popular and during the survey there was almost always at least one person temporarily absent from Sivepe visiting or working for settlers. At Inonda, it was possible to work for settlers on the Girua blocks while resident in the village.

[497] Anglican mission stations frequently employ school-leavers as
[465] 'medical orderlies' and 'nurses' in their clinics and hospitals. Standard IV or V education is required but the salary is normally only $1 a month and few adults are involved.

[491] [1] This applied to villages between Popondetta and Inonda when the road to Oro Bay was improved in 1963-64, and in 1964 work began on the realignment and improvement of the Popondetta-Kokoda road, which passes through Saiho census division within three miles of Sivepe.

525 the losers. Villagers may also lose a fair proportion of their cash income through gambling.

461 (vi) The use of cash. Income is used for settling obligations, direct consumption and capital savings. The first includes taxes to the local government council, contributions to the mission and marriage payments. These occur only occasionally, but their size may require that an individual seek wage employment or harvest his cash crops with the specific purpose of meeting such requirements. The heaviest demands coincide with and immediately follow the [651] period of most intensive cash crop production. Between about [623] March and July the Higaturu Local Government Council collects its [797] annual tax of $6 per adult male and $2 per female. During the latter half of the year, the Anglican mission seeks contributions [436] to its Papuan Church Fund, in some areas recommending gifts of $4 by men and $2 by women. Cash also circulates among villagers in the form of small gifts as part of the 'normal' exchange pattern.

366 Most villages are within half an hour's walk of trade stores and during the dry season in particular, distinct recourse is made to them for food. Only very small sums are paid out at markets or to hawkers.

454 Opportunities for investing savings occur with two local companies, Oro Ltd and the OCGS, and with the major savings banks through their agencies. In spite of a required minimum shareholding of $5 and $10 respectively, the first two have elicited considerable support and are preferred to savings accounts because interest on the latter is considered too small.[1] In addition to shares, a considerable amount of money is tied up in village or clan savings accounts but there are few instances of this money being used to benefit the group.

241 Apart from the few trade stores and coffee pulpers, little income [179] is invested in large capital equipment. Herein, perhaps, lies the anomaly of commercial agriculture in the Northern District. In spite of the long record of experimentation with various forms of work organisation and tenure (admittedly, largely directed from outside), the degree of economic development remains low when compared with the Gazelle Peninsula or parts of the Eastern and Western [493] Highlands Districts. The proportion of cash croppers among villagers is lower, as are the actual incomes derived from cash cropping and there are no locally-owned vehicles (except those of ex-servicemen settlers). Nevertheless, interest in commercial agriculture is

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[1] One expatriate planter who operates a savings bank agency expressed concern that withdrawals had exceeded deposits for the twelve months preceding mid-1964. He believed that the money was being used principally to buy shares in Oro Ltd.

491 [499] [361] station with Boru on the main road near Awala and passing within a mile of Sivepe, but it was not completed by the onset of the wet season. It was intended that this would be used by the OCGS and other purchasers of produce. This was the main reason for the Sivepe people's decision to move their village to a site within 200 yards of Sasembata mission station.

797 [743] [87] Sasembata mission is a head station of the Anglican mission. Among its facilities are a church, administered by an Orokaiva priest, a hospital and infant welfare clinic run by a Papuan medical orderly but supervised from the Administration hospital at Saiho, and a primary school with 400 children on the roll.[1] The school includes classes up to Standard V and is headed by an Australian with the assistance of ten Papuan teachers. A small trade store is operated by Oro Ltd at Kongohambo village adjoining the mission station.

621 [342] Sivepe itself is laid out as a line village, with lineage members tending to occupy adjoining houses (see Map 4). The houses have a mean size of 229 sq ft and are built entirely of local materials, with the exception of nails which are now commonly used.

[125] Three clan branches are represented in the village and two of these, the Jegase and Timumu clans,[2] comprised the survey sample (55.3 per cent of the total village population of 114 in January 1964), the characteristics of which reveal them to be representative of the population as a whole.[3]

166 464 The population of the sample declined by 20.6 per cent, from 63 to 50 persons, over the survey period. Ten of the 17 departures migrated to other villages and the rest sought wage employment within the district or in Port Moresby. This continuing out-migration intensified certain characteristics of the village's labour force, for by January 1965, 37.8 per cent of the potential adult male labour force was absent, the majority on a long-term basis in unskilled or semi-skilled work or low-ranking positions in government service.[4] In three cases, wives and children remained in the village and were supported by close kin. In January 1965, there were only two men remaining in the 20 to 34 years age groups.

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[1] An estimated 80 per cent of the children in the area receive some schooling.

[361] [2] Clansmen also reside in twelve other villages, all within a radius of 3.7 miles of Sivepe.

[3] See Appendix 1A and Fig. 4:1.B [4] See Appendix 2.C

A, [See Category 163, p. 307--Analyst] B, [See Category 162, p. 39--Analyst]

C, [See Category 166, p. 308--Analyst]

511 Only one man owns a mosquito net and there is only one transistor
[207] radio in the village. Some of the older people still wear tapa
291 cloths but new ones are seldom made now. The more common form of
178 dress is a pair of shorts, a skirt or a laplap, the skirts being
[797] mostly sewn at mothers' union sewing classes run by the Anglican mission at Sasembata.

411 Two men in the sample own shotguns, costing $58.75 and $59.75.
[435] These are the only items in the village representing large capital outlays and several other men had made contributions of $2 and $6 towards their purchase, so they can borrow them in return.

342 None of the houses conforms to the traditional Orokaiva style,
178 but all are built wholly of local materials. They contain no raised platforms for sleeping, no shelves for food storage, and no cooking facilities other than an open fire. One man has built a 'kitchen extension' to his house while several other households cook primarily in shelters outside. Also, one man has built a simple table and bench outside and some members of the household occasionally eat at this.

312 A creek running beside the village provides the water for bath-
487 ing, cooking, laundering, washing dishes and pulping coffee. Paths
514 are narrow and unimproved despite constant use so that they become difficult to negotiate in wet weather. Not all households have pit latrines and those that do only use them irregularly. Small children often defecate on the village surrounds and standing water in various parts is a further health hazard.

Inonda

133 Inonda lands run from the low plains (200 feet above sea level),
134 beside the Sambogo and Girua rivers, into the foothills of the Hydrographers Range. They include a variety of landforms, soils and vegetation - one-third of the village lands are covered with soils of the Popondetta family, which are well-drained sandy loam volcanic soils, supporting grasslands of Saccharum spontaneum-Imperata cylindrica alliance; one-fifth consists of coarse-textured riverine deposits which are moist, apparently fertile and support forest and regrowth. These are preferred for food gardens, although gardens are also made on the lower valley slopes of the Hydrographers, where the soils consist of well-drained clay loams covered with dense forest or secondary growth. The soils of the foothills are shallow and stony, supporting lower montane rainforest and, as with
[31] the grasslands, this area is used only for hunting and foraging. The CSIRO survey classifies most of the Inonda lands as having moderate land-use potential.

461 [464] Although returns to labour from paid work are substantially less than from cash cropping,[1] medical work is popular among young people because of their participation in a group with common interests, while contract work, being more casual than most forms of paid work, enables most village activities to be pursued concurrently with it. An important consideration for the married person is that such work can be done while continuing to reside with one's family in the village.

512 177 [747] (iii) Other activities. Of activities associated with the external sector of the economy, it is the 'non-productive' which are the most time-consuming: 5.8 hours per man-week are devoted to the external agencies, 3.0 of them to the church. The proximity of Sivepe to an Anglican mission head station run by an expatriate largely accounts for this as church activities tend to be more highly organised and frequent than on an out-station, so much so that during the Easter church festival, 13.1 hours per man-week were absorbed by services (week 8). Similarly labour requirements, in terms of voluntary assistance in erecting and maintaining buildings, are far greater at a head station.

Church activities reached a peak during period II with the Feast of St Mary Magdelene, the visit of a bishop, and the reconstruction of school classrooms. During period III a marked decline was registered, largely due to the general resentment of the villagers at what they considered to be excessive demands placed on their time during the preceding dry season. It was felt these demands had conflicted with major village activities such as cash cropping and the increased urgency of the food quest at that time.

[797] Formal gatherings or meetings are a recurrent aspect of village life. Of the 1.3 hours per man-week spent at them, 42 per cent is in connection with the Administration - at census takings, court cases, etc. - and a further 26 per cent with women's organisations - the Administration-sponsored women's club and the mothers' union run by the Anglican mission. The balance of the time is divided between political, OCGS and Oro Ltd meetings and disputes within the village.

[466] [651] The local government council dictates that one day per week be spent on road maintenance and upkeep of the village area. It also requires that all adults present themselves, annually, for tax payments and that all births and deaths are registered. Altogether this council work amounts to 1.2 hours per man-week.

[432] While Sivepe is close to a number of trade stores, the people's limited requirements from them results in little time (0.4 hours per man-week) being spent in the purchase of goods.

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[1] For a detailed analysis of comparative returns to labour see pp.290, 292.

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

more time than others, during the survey at least, on house building. During period I, while still living in the old village, he erected a temporary house on the new site. During period II he lived in this structure while building his permanent house, and this was completed during period III. As was pointed out above,[1] the amount of time spent in building during 1964 was much higher than in most years.

Only 17 per cent of his time is spent in activities related to the external agencies and the monetary sector. Of the comparatively small amount of time devoted to activities not directly productive, Paulus spent most on minor activities and social obligations. As with the leading man, little time is spent on visiting.

Mamoko. A widower aged about 55, Mamoko was captured in an inter-tribal raid on the Managalase people in the Hydrographers Range and adopted by his captor from Inonda. He married an Inonda woman and had several children. His two surviving sons are still resident and several daughters are married to men in other villages. He received no education but spent six years as a plantation labourer. Unlike many of his generation he was baptised as a Christian and regularly attends the village services. It is said that Mamoko would be the 'embo dombo' (big man) of the village if his wife were alive, since he knows most about the land and social relationships (which are of primary importance when organising feasts). However, as he has no wife to assist him and to lead the other women, he is unable to fulfil the role effectively. Instead, he gives advice to Lawrence, the accepted leader. In 1955, he and two other men, both rather younger than himself, made small coffee plantations on the north side of the Girua River. Some years later he gave his trees to his eldest son and staked out a harvested food garden near the present village site preparatory to planting cocoa, but he did not complete the scheme. During the survey, he spent a little time assisting the other men build the copra-drier and a little in collecting and splitting coconuts to make copra. His only cash income during the survey was from gifts, but immediately prior to the survey he had worked for some weeks on road-building.

The widower has the shortest working week of all the villagers, but 88 per cent of his time is devoted to directly productive activities. Over half is spent on the clearing, fencing and cultivation of subsistence gardens. Taro receives most attention, followed by yams,

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[1] See p.136.

Kokoda. The invasion brought a much higher degree of cultural contact and upheaval by both the occupation of the Japanese and the counter-occupation by the Australian forces. Another dramatic upheaval took place in 1951 when Mt Lamington erupted, killing some 4,000 Orokaivas and Europeans. This caused a mass evacuation from the traditional home villages and the temporary settlement in collective camps outside the declared contaminated area. The temporary resettlement caused much friction (Keesing 1951).

Mission influence is strong in the Northern District. This is provided almost exclusively by the Anglican church and is of a fairly orthodox nature. Mission influence is mixed somewhat with traditional beliefs and there is an air of mysticism about the resultant religious system. Education is predominantly through a system of mission schools, partly financed by the Government Department of Education. The schools are staffed by both European and Orokaiva teachers and use an approved syllabus. The teachers are dedicated but often not substantially better educated than their pupils. Many of the Papuan teachers are educated only to Standard 4.

There is currently some covert aggression towards the European settlers, some of whom reciprocate in a more overt manner. The history of European contact has not always been happy. Frequent misunderstanding and misinterpretation by both sides has led to strained social relations in many cases. The initial settlement of Europeans in the area resulted in bloodshed and ill-feeling. Early miners and police both had cause to fear the Orokaiva. Later government attempts to enforce cash cropping met strong resistance in some areas. The Japanese invasion and its subsequent defeat led to many confusing and bewildering Orokaiva deaths. Since the last war there has been some improvement of the race relations - but they are still basically seen in some type of dominance relationship, e.g., master - labourer, teacher - pupil, etc. The Anglican church has ordained a few priests and in general has congenial relations with the Orokaiva, yet this does not necessarily suggest a closer empathy with or understanding of the people. The Orokaiva regard some resident Europeans as welcome and fairly warmly received and others as being unwelcome trespassers. More Europeans appear to be in the latter category than is generally realized.

Like any enclave in a foreign country the European settlers attribute stereotyped characteristics of personality and temperament to particular local groups. This process of one group classifying another into psychological types provides a working basis for interaction. The Orokaiva were quickly allotted a stereotype and this came to be reinforced as the ascribed characteristics were searched for and found. The Orokaiva were classed as being 'surly', 'resentful', 'sulking', 'good policemen but need

121 From the results in the previous section two important facts
153 are evident. Firstly, there is a difference in cognitive ability between the seven samples and, secondly, there is a definite relationship between productivity and cognitive ability.

153 The analysis in Table 6 indicates that the majority of the variation between the samples is caused by the high test scores of the Beporo sample and by the low test scores of the Ongoho sample. The Beporo sample has significantly higher test scores than any of the other samples and the Ongoho sample has significantly lower scores than any other sample except for the Sivepe sample. In the latter case, although there is a difference in the mean or average test score of 4.25, this fails to reach the required significance level and the variation within each of these samples is too large to warrant any conclusion that there is a fundamental difference, although there is a trend in this direction.

The only other difference that is significant is between the ex-servicemen settlers sample and the Sivepe sample. The difference in mean test scores here is 6.90. There are differences between the other samples but these do not reach the required level of significance to be certain that these differences are, in fact, real.

The question then arises as to why the Beporo sample is better than all the others and why the Ongoho sample is poorer than all the others except one. It is not within the scope of this paper
[797] to discuss the possibilities that cause this effect. It is interest-
177 ing to note that the village of Beporo is situated beside the Gona
871 Mission which was established approximately sixty years ago. On the other hand, the Ongoho sample have had very little schooling and only one person had spent any time at school. There is an indication that education may have had some influence on the development of these people.

It had often been suggested to the author that people from Beporo were amongst the best workers in the district. The people from Ongoho, on the other hand, have experienced a long history of failures in attempts at communal cash cropping and other ventures. They have not established a clear reputation as they have not participated as fully in the plantation economy as many other villages.

Thus the Beporo people have a record of success and the Ongoho people one of failure. It is suggested that the ability to perform well in the plantation economy may be related not so much to particular opportunities but more to the cognitive ability of the people.

This is brought out more forcibly in the second finding, i.e., the relationship of higher productivity with higher test scores.

Table 2

245 242 423 162 464

Ages of blockholders in the Yega Scheme compared to other Yega men of working age

Age grouping	Men with cocoa block		Men without cocoa block		Men working away from villages	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Under 30	7	15	13	20	53	62
Over 30 and under 40	16	35	17	26	23	27
Over 40 and under 50	17	37	17	26	6	7
Over 50	6	13	18	28	3	4
Total	46	100	65	100	85	100

Note. Ages are in most cases estimates and for the last category estimates by informants.

Table 2 indicates that, of the 46 cocoa blocks in the Yega Scheme, 33 (or 72 per cent) were held by men aged 30 to 50, slightly more than half of whom were over 40. Only 28 per cent of the persons allocated blocks were either under 30 or over 50 but nearly half the persons not allocated blocks were in these groups. The larger number of old men without blocks is understandable. They had few needs other than food and betel nut and the cost of small luxuries like sugar and rice could usually be provided by their sons. On the other hand, there was a very strong desire to obtain cocoa blocks on the part of middle-aged men who did not yet have them. There were few men aged 40 years or over working away from the village, though most of them had been away during their youth. The table emphasizes the distinct preference of young Yega men to work for wages away from home rather than to remain in the village: 89 per cent of the men working away from the village were under 40. Other data showed that 79 per cent of all bachelors over 16 years of age were working away from home or had recently returned from wage employment.

434 In addition to their earnings from cocoa production, Yega villagers had four sources of income.

[439] [441] i. Exchanging surplus agricultural produce with the mission, which gave tobacco, razor blades, needles, fish hooks, salt, etc. in exchange to the value of one penny per pound weight of produce. This mission barter enabled the Yega to obtain small useful items with no loss of time, for even though prices at the Popondetta market were about three times higher, to get there required about half a day's walk in each direction carrying the produce.

434 438 ii. The marketing of agricultural and marine products and handicrafts. Yega participation in the Popondetta market held

Introduction

474 178 Since the end of World War II there has been a rapid development of co-operative marketing and retailing and in some cases production amongst the indigenous people of Papua.

[121] [799] This paper describes the origin of the co-operative movement in the Northern District and its subsequent development and modification particularly as applied to Yega.[1] The Yega were one of the first groups to organize a producers' co-operative, under the guidance of the local Anglican Mission. The movement rapidly extended to other groups of Orokaiva.

The development of agricultural co-operatives

474 799 177 241 As early as 1940 the Reverend James Benson of the Anglican Mission at Gona had begun to preach the virtues of co-operation. Benson was imprisoned by the Japanese but returned to Gona in 1946. The first mention of any co-operative in the district comes as a brief entry in his diary on 6 October 1946, 'Foundation of Gona Public Trust' (G.P.T.). The functions of the G.P.T. are not clear beyond the fact that it was organized as a committee or board - entirely Papuan in composition, with Father Benson as advisor - aimed at investigating ways and means of improving standards of living.

474 241 One of the most dynamic and influential members of the G.P.T. committee was Samuel Ungega from Gombe village. He was a member

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128 [1] Acknowledgment is made to the following people who read this paper in draft and offered helpful criticism:
H.H. Jackman, Esq., Chief of Division (Business Training and Management), Department of Trade and Industry, Papua and New Guinea, formerly Registrar of Co-operative Societies (1960-2);
G. Morris, Esq., Kokopo, T.P.N.G., formerly Registrar of Co-operative Societies (1956-60);
Rev. J.L. Wardman, Mt Hawthorn, Western Australia, formerly Anglican missionary in charge at Gona (1953-61).

grown. These were mainly used as food by the co-operative workers, but in times of local food shortage they were sold to other villagers. All workers, Yega, Ahora and Beuru, lived in garden houses on the Ononda garden site during the week and returned to their home villages only at week-ends.

The establishment of gardens and the work organization were similar at Garara. There also, peanuts and sweet potatoes were the main crops. According to an informant the value of the first harvest in 1947 was $190.

Unfortunately for the co-operatives, the mission organizers soon disagreed with Samuel, for the Rev. Benson's diary on 1 April 1947 speaks of him as a 'wife-deserter, and who in consequence has been put off the committee of the G.P.T.' (and presumably placed under Church discipline). It was also stated by informants that there was dissatisfaction among shareholders with Samuel's rather secretive management of the money.

At this point the G.P.T. ceased to function and the co-operative efforts of the Yega proceeded in different directions. The Anglican Mission sponsored a Christian co-operative which became known as the Gona Co-operative Society, while Samuel Ungega organized the Gombe Co-operative. He was supported by most members of his own clan (Kurou), some members of his new wife's clan (Jambapa), a few members of other Yega clans (Seseko and Konambo) and also by five members of the neighbouring Bapa sub-tribe. Four of the Bapa men were married to women of Kurou Dunemba sub-clan which joined the Bapa people in past times but with whom Yega Kurou still maintained exogamous relations. The fifth man was a brother of one of these four, having no direct affinal link with Samuel or other members of Kurou clan.

Early in 1948 the foreman in charge at Ononda was sent by the mission authorities to Boreo to instruct people in co-operative techniques. At about the same time the Ahora and Beuru labourers were forced by the Administration to return to their villages because of labour problems at home. Samuel's Gombe Co-operative then abandoned farming at Ononda and restricted its operations to the Garara site, where all land rights were held by members of the Jambapa clan, the clan of Samuel's wife.

All members of the Gombe Co-operative workforce, including the Bapa men, lived in garden houses on the Garara site from Monday to Friday each week. The Jabapa landholders permitted the members of other clans and the Bapa men to use nearby secondary forest for their food gardens. This saved travelling time and permitted the maximum time to be spent on the co-operative gardens.

The Gombe Co-operative continued operations during 1948-9 but because of opposition from the mission it never gained popular

474 support, a peak number of 19 households being engaged during 1949.
241 In 1950-1 Samuel attended a nine months training course in Port Moresby at the invitation of the Administration Co-operative Officer. Samuel attempted to ensure the continuity of his scheme by appointing and training three men to oversee operations during his absence. Two of the men chosen were Yega men with close affinal ties with Samuel, the third was a Bapa man having only a remote kinship link but particular ability. The scheme continued to function smoothly during 1950. Samuel's plan was to grow annual cash crops and to build up a reserve fund for the first few years, then to undertake tree-cropping. He bought cocoa pods and had the seeds planted in a nursery in January 1951. During his training period Samuel made two trips to Gona to observe the progress of the co-
[731] operative. On the second of these visits he took his daughter to the hospital at Higaturu and was among the 4000 killed when Mt Lamington erupted on 21 January. After his death no more cash crops were planted at Garara. No one knows what became of the money received but none was ever distributed to members of the Gombe Co-operative.

474 The mission-sponsored Christian co-operative embraced more
241 people and a much greater area than the Gombe Co-operative. The
177 Anglican Mission at Gona is responsible for an area that stretches
797 approximately 30 miles north and 15 miles south and extends in a rough arc 5 to 10 miles inland. Little information was available from the mission records, but it seemed likely that the Christian co-operative, named the Gona Co-operative Society, was launched during April or May 1947, that membership among the Yega was almost universal (apart from the members of the Gombe Co-operative) and that there was no fixed share payment, each adult male contributing what he could afford. A large store was built.

[657] In September 1947 Mr John Millar, government officer in charge of co-operative development in the Territory, visited Gona and addressed a meeting of 500 people in the new store, explaining the Administration's plans for co-operatives in the area. He suggested that the present Gona Co-operative Society be split into an association of eight smaller societies, each centred in its own local community.[1] The meeting agreed and Mr Millar departed. The committee assumed that theirs would be among the first co-operatives to be registered when the necessary legislation had been passed and this was the position when Father Benson departed on home leave at the beginning of December 1947.

Mr Millar's advice was implemented after April 1948 by Rev. Alfred Clint who undertook to organize and co-ordinate the

[1] The eight societies within the association were to be centred at Gona, Garara, Bakubari, Gombe, Soputa, Buna, Huhuru and Hamburata.

development of each of the small local co-operatives. These were all organized along similar lines but the following description applies specifically to the Gombe Co-operative which (to distinguish it from Samuel Ungega's venture) was renamed the Yega Co-operative.

The executive committee of the co-operative consisted of five members: a chairman who was a well-known elder and later became the acknowledged leader of the Yega, a secretary who was a younger man of some education and in good standing with the mission authorities, and three young and energetic members, two of them ex-servicemen who had had some post-war agricultural training at Dogura. This committee was elected by a general meeting of Yega people. Its function was to decide which land to use, when to change areas of cultivation and when to work: co-operative work days were Tuesdays and Saturdays when all people (even school children on Saturdays) were supposed to work on the co-operative gardens. At certain times, such as harvesting, extra work was necessary. The committee made the decision when to call for such extra efforts. In addition, the committee appointed people to other set duties and supervised the performance of these duties. Such positions were:

i. jobmaster, who allocated work;

ii. farm leaders, who kept farm records,[1] supervised sowing, harvesting and other technical aspects - these men had all had some agricultural training;

iii. huller operator. A rice huller was acquired and installed at the western end of Beporo village;

iv. toolkeepers and timekeepers. They kept tools in good repair, and rang the bell at 8 a.m. for staring work, at mid-day for prayers and at 5 p.m. for knocking off and prayers. Although people then lived in villages stretching along about three miles of coastline, and the only bell was in Beporo village, it was stated that in the early days of co-operative work most people were punctual; after the first year there was a gradual slackening in enthusiasm.

The secretary kept a roll book in which the names of all workers were entered. Each work day he walked round the gardens and ticked off the names of those present. There was no attempt to discriminate between hard workers and slackers. The person who worked for one hour received the same credit for attendance as one who

[1] Unfortunately no written records of the co-operative were located.

474 worked for eight. This became an important basis for resentment
241 and discontent among the workers.

The arrival of Rev. Clint in 1948 ushered in a period of
474 dynamic growth in the co-operative movement in the district. He
241 had a deep interest in co-operatives, and had been associated in
177 Australia with the Christian Socialist Movement. He was speci-
797 fically recruited by the mission to organize agricultural co-operatives and within three weeks of his arrival he had held meetings with the members of three of the co-operatives and had discussed future development with the District Agricultural
[657] Officer, Mr Cockshott. In mid-May he commenced a weekly co-
[191] operatives instruction class covering co-operative leadership, history of co-operatives, basic techniques, book-keeping and English.

[782] Rev. Clint was insistent that Christian ritual be associated with co-operative action. Educational and committee meetings always closed with a special prayer, there were church services at which tools were blessed and newly planted seed was blessed
[795] in the gardens. This aspect of the co-operative movement was
[178] regarded with some apprehension by Administration officers who felt that it could be misunderstood by the Papuans and possibly lead to the development of a cargo cult. There was some evidence to suggest that a cult did in fact begin. Money was collected surreptitiously (its disposal was never explained), and in the opinions of some observers there was a belief among some participants that the mere formation of co-operatives and the routine performance of the work required would magically raise the Papuans in a short time to the status of Europeans. On the other hand, there was evidence to support the view that the people in their desire to improve their economic position saw co-operatives as the channel and adopted the idea wholeheartedly. There is something of both these views in the statement of the ex-chairman, who said: 'We wanted to be like other civilized countries and earn money by working together.'

In November 1948 there were 25 acres under dry rice at Gona No.1, and 10 acres under taro, 6 acres of rice and one acre of peanuts at Gona No.2. Similar areas were under crop at the other co-operatives. The first harvest in early 1949 appears to have been a success. On his return from leave in March 1949, Rev. Benson spoke of 'barns and storehouses bursting with rice, people happily busy...true comradeship and Christian co-operation'.

474 In August 1949 the first four co-operatives in the Territory
241 were registered.[1] They were, in order: Yega, Gona, Garara and
657

[1] This registration was made under the terms of draft legislation. It was not confirmed by the Registrar of Co-operatives under the finally approved legislation, the Co-operative Societies Ordinance 1950.

Buna. The registering officer stated that 'the co-operative movement in this district is the only one yet far enough advanced for registration'.[1]

About this time, discussions were held between Rev. Clint and the local agricultural officers regarding the practicability of planting tree crops - especially coffee and cocoa - as eventual replacements for the annual crops then being grown. The problems associated with the establishment of these tree crops were not solved, however.[2] Had they been solved, a serious difference of opinion regarding policy would have been avoided. The divergence of views was between Rev. Clint, who saw the production of rice by co-operative methods mainly as a way of improving the subsistence diet of the people, and the people themselves, who saw it as a way of earning money. As time went on, it appeared to the villagers that Rev. Clint's interests lay only in subsistence crops and their enthusiasm began to wane. Towards the end of 1949 Rev. Clint became ill and he had to return permanently to Australia in January 1950.

In Rev. Clint's view Christian co-operatives had 'grown naturally out of the teachings of the Christian faith' (Clint 1950). Unfortunately he did not recognize that material considerations weighed at least as heavily as spiritual values in the minds of the people among whom he was working. The people had readily accepted a departure from the traditional practices of land tenure, an entirely different system of work organization; and the cultivation of a new crop, rice, which involved radical changes in their gardening techniques. The Yega, anticipating a substantial cash income, had welcomed these changes, but soon discovered that rice could not be converted readily to cash. There was no possibility of rice being grown in sufficient quantity in any one locality (for reasons of land availability and manpower) to justify the establishment of central milling facilities, and inadequate transport facilities prevented combination with other areas, even had these existed at that time. Without central milling, which would have produced a brown rice, properly dried, and saleable to the Administration and plantations, the only means of converting 'paddy' rice into a storable product was to use smaller semi-portable mills to produce white or polished rice. The milling, however, whilst converting

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[1] Quoted in the Gona Anglican Mission Diary.

[2] Specifically, lack of knowledge of the soils in the area, lack of any experimental plantings, and a shortage of trained staff.

474 The finances of the store were under continual surveillance
443 both by the local inspector and by the Assistant Registrar of
[657] Co-operatives in Port Moresby to whom regular reports were submitted
[454] by the inspector. A general reserve fund was maintained and was fully invested. Provision for depreciation was made every six months; this money was banked so that the provision of a new store building would be possible within about ten years.

[438] The Cape Killerton store operated as a normal retail trading store but over three quarters of its business was conducted with its shareholders. In January 1963 there were 578 shareholders in the Gona villages co-operative store, of whom 108 (19 per cent) were Yega people. Yega shareholders purchased 34 per cent of all goods sold[1] while non-shareholders bought 13.5 per cent.[2]

[434] The high rate of spending of Yega shareholders relative to the total membership was because the Yega people live nearest to the store at distances ranging from nil to four miles, and because the Yega probably received a higher cash income than the other groups.

464 The Yega had since the early 1930s been within walking distance
167 of one of the best mission schools in the Northern District, with
[368] a European teacher permanently on the staff. In consequence young
[871] Yega men, who almost without exception left the villages to enter
[777] paid employment, were able to obtain skilled and semi-skilled jobs.
[434] In a sample group of 18 such wage-earners interviewed, the average remittance to relatives and friends in the village during 1962 was $110 p.a. As 40 per cent of the adult male work force was absent in wage-employment, a considerable amount of cash was being injected into the Yega economy. In addition, some Yega obtained a regular cash income from produce sold in Popondetta market (see Dakeyne 1965:102 ff.).

474 Expansion of membership in the G.V.N.S. Co-operative had almost
443 ceased in 1964: 561 members in 1958 increased to 578 in 1961. As
438 a branch store was opened at Buna in 1962, effective shareholder support for the Killerton store seemed likely to diminish. In any event there could be no major increase in shareholder numbers among the Yega, for nearly every adult Yega man resident in the area was already a shareholder in the co-operative. The bulk of the store's business was done with its shareholders but non-shareholding friends, such as members of a shareholder's family or visitors from the towns, were asked by shareholders to use their share numbers when making

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 67]

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[1] Calculated from the rebates given in December 1962.

[2] Calculated on the basis of sales for the months October-December 1962.

investment in the villages, for there is scope for an astute and influential individual to use them to accumulate cash which may subsequently be invested. On the other hand, an institution such as bride-wealth may be detrimental in that an individual may consider it pointless to earn more cash if a large proportion is to be used to assist kin in exchanges which do not benefit him directly. Also an individual may have difficulty in accumulating cash for investment if social pressures force him to contribute a high proportion of his cash income to non-commercial exchanges. 121

In addition we have no clear understanding of the degree to which and circumstances under which an individual's participation in ceremonial exchanges involving cash affords him access to the land, labour and capital resources of the group to which he belongs. Some indigenous entrepreneurs minimize their participation in these exchanges while others apparently attempt to use them to advantage.

The following description of an Orokaiva marriage and bride-wealth exchange does not contain sufficient information to allow generalizations about economic implications but may be a useful contribution to a comprehensive study of customary exchanges. The activities associated with the marriage involved people from several villages and hamlets as well as a nearby land settlement scheme. The events spread over approximately two and a half months culminating in the payment and distribution of the bride-wealth at the end of August 1962.

II

Traditionally, an Orokaiva man could acquire a wife by payment of bride-wealth; by exchange of a girl from his lineage, sub-clan or clan for another from an outside group; by elopement; or by capture (Williams 1930:130). When Europeans gained control of the Orokaiva area early in the century, marriage by capture, which had been common, was no longer possible. Since then, other aspects of marriage among the Orokaiva have changed. People may now move freely within the Orokaiva area and elsewhere, and consequently the range of villages from which an individual may choose a spouse is wider than in the pre-contact period. Furthermore, many marriages now take place at least partly in accordance with church practices. Missions[1] have failed to suppress exchanges of bride-wealth and it 583 583 197 [197]

[1] The Anglican Mission has been operating in the area for over 50 years and has been the most influential evangelical institution there.

583 is still transferred in most marriages, including those which take
177 place in a church.

199 Polygyny was accepted but probably not frequent in traditional
Orokaiva society. In spite of mission opposition there are still
595 instances of polygyny but the great majority of marriages are
monogamous. Marriage outside the clan is considered preferable
614 but there are numerous cases of marriage within the clan. The
village is not considered an exogamous unit. Marriages are usually
582 patrilocal but this is not a definite rule (cf. Williams 1930:130-3).
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III

584 In this particular marriage the groom lived in Inonda, a village of approximately 45 people about 11 miles from Popondetta.[1] His was the only family of the Jegotumo lineage of the Andiriha clan in Inonda, although there were others at Hohota I and Kakendetta.[2] The groom was the eldest child by his father's first wife. His mother died several years before his marriage and his father remarried. The father died six weeks before the marriage payment described here took place.

The groom attended Anglican mission schools for eight years and reached Standard V. He was baptized in 1958. In 1960, when he was about 16, he left school to train as a medical orderly at a mission hospital at Embi about ten miles from Inonda. In 1962 he returned to his father's household in Inonda and was employed by the government for $3 per week to tend the ford where the road from Popondetta to Oro Bay crossed the Girua river. He also assisted with the production of coffee, from which the household earned approximately $16.00 annually, and with the household's food gardens.

The bride attended mission schools for four years and reached Standard III but was not baptized. Her father, who died during World War II, had been the head of Joremba'embo lineage and of the Andiriha sub-clan in Inonda as well as headman of that village. After her father's death the bride went with her mother, elder sister and brother to live with her mother's elder brother at Ajoro village about five miles away. In 1948 a parallel cousin of her father was demobilized from the army and married her mother, thereby becoming her adoptive father (to be referred to hereafter simply as her father). Subsequently she lived in his household in Inonda

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 86]

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[1] See map, p.84[A]

[2] See diagram, p.85[B] and Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:14-25.

A [See Category 102, p. 84--Analyst]

B [See Category 583, p. 85--Analyst]

383 and later to be provided by the people themselves. This idea was
654 taken up by the villagers and the first bush rubber processed at Ombi-Tara was purchased by the Department of Agriculture on 5 June 1964.

[439] An Agricultural Assistant was stationed full time at Ombi-Tara and he helps to grade, weigh and bale the rubber.[1] The baled rubber is purchased monthly by an Agricultural Officer who drives to Ombi-Tara from Popondetta. It is marketed in Australia through the Papuan Rubber Pool.

249 Tapping is organised on a rotation system, with one man tapping
434 the bush rubber stand each month, producing between 70 and 200 lb of Ribbed Smoked Sheet, and earning between $12 and $34, depending of his diligence and the price of rubber.

383 In mid 1964 the villagers built a smoke house, a machine house
474 and a baling house, all of local materials, for the equipment on loan from the Department of Agriculture. The baling press was
[654] provided on permanent loan by a local planter.

[402 On 27 October 1964 an Ombi-Tara Village Savings Account was
454] opened at a bank in Popondetta with the sum of $227.50. During the following year money was paid in at irregular intervals at an average rate of about $14 per month.

On 12 February 1965 the Ombi-Tara people paid $177.72 for their own rollers and coagulating pans which they now use for processing, leaving the Department of Agriculture free to transfer its equipment to another recently initiated scheme. Extra coagulating pans were bought for $91.20 on 16 October 1965, leaving a balance of $117.84 in the village account.

[651] No deposits were made between October 1965 and the end of January 1966 because of the need to save money to pay the Local Government Council tax ($5 per man) and the Mission jubilee contribution ($2 per householder).

243 While the bush rubber processing project appears to have been a
[797] success, almost every other attempt made by the Ombi-Tara people at planting cash crops has failed. They participated in a communal rice growing project in 1950, encouraged by the Anglican Mission, but it was a failure, as were similar projects in other parts of
245 the district. Later in the 1950s a communal cocoa plantation of
[654] some 400 trees was established with Administration encouragement. Disputes over the organisation of work and the distribution of proceeds caused the abandonment of the project shortly afterwards.[2]

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[1] During our stay all rubber processed at Ombi-Tara was graded Ribbed Smoked Sheet No.2.

[2] On the communal rice and cocoa experiments in the Northern District see Crocombe 1964a:29-33.

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[A villager shows off the fighting head-dress of his father. It is intricately made of boar tusks, shells, feathers, and hornbill beaks.]

THE YEGA OF NORTHERN PAPUA

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[161]

THE Yega is a group of nearly 900 people living in sixteen settlements, on an area of about twelve square miles, on the north coast of Papua. They live on a gently sloping alluvial plain between Mt Lamington and the sea. Yega territory is bounded by one large stream and crossed by several small creeks.

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The plain was originally covered by mature rain forest 100-120 feet high, interspersed with elongated strips of grassland. Now, much of the original forest has been cut down, and secondary forest forty to fifty feet high has

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replaced it. The climate is hot and wet throughout the year (Köppen Af.) but there is marked seasonality of precipitation. The north-west monsoon, November to April, brings two-thirds of the annual rainfall (average 100 inches per year); July and August with about four inches per month are relatively dry. The temperature is over 80°F on most days and rarely falls below 70°F on the coolest night, but the heat is alleviated by north-easterly sea breezes which blow during the afternoon and evening throughout the year.

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The first reported contact between Europeans and Yega was during an expedition along the coast by the Lt Governor of Papua, Sir William McGregor, in 1893, but the first real step in the process of change occurred with the establishment of an Anglican mission

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school on Waususu Point in 1909. From this time until the outbreak of World War II, Yega men began leaving their villages to work

466 [P.5-A]

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claims by two or more groups frequently overlapped (Fig. 2). Because of this situation,

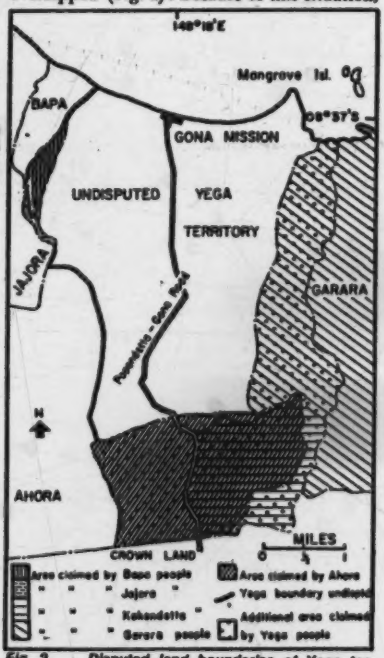

Fig. 2. Disputed land boundaries of Yega territory. (Redrawn from an original map by the Land Titles Commissioner, Popondetta.)

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(P.6-A)

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Fig. 3. Main areas of subsistence gardens of one Yega clan (Kurou clan)

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within his sub-clan so that all sub-clan members may be found working land in close proximity. This custom was necessary in the past for mutual protection against raiders. It

[P 7-B) [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 8-B]

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[133] coral sand and lumps of dead coral. Although there are mangrove trees on the islands, there would be no possibility of growing food crops there. At some time well before the arrival of white men, the Yega moved from Baroda Deuga and founded a large village, Basabuga, on the eastern shore of Waususu Point. In Basabuga each clan was allocated a specific
[614] area in which family heads built their homes. Probably there were only three original clans, but these were joined at intervals by the ancestors of the other five clans who now make up the Yega parish. Basabuga is in an ideal defensive site, protected on the landward side by mangrove swamps to the south-east, and on the south-western side by swamp filled depressions running parallel to the beach. The sea provided an escape route to the north.

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[871] By about 1910 when the first school was begun at Waususu Point, some clans had moved eastward or westward and settled in other coastal villages. In each village the male

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614 members of a clan lived together with their wives and children, and although there was a good deal of inter-clan contact, the clan village was the main social unit. The main reason for the dispersal of clans from Basabuga was probably population pressure but the enforced cessation of inter-parish warfare undoubtedly contributed. The movement west-

361 ward along the beach continued until about 1930. People were encouraged to move by the increasing effectiveness of Government control

[657] and by the establishment at Gona Mission of

[799] a school and hospital staffed by Europeans.

[P.12-B]

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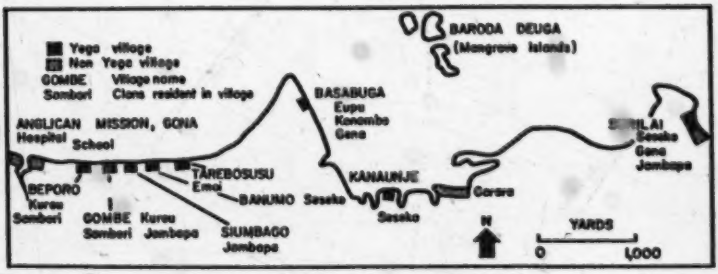

[P.12-C]

Fig. 9. Settlement pattern of the Yega in 1950

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Fig. 12. Settlement pattern of the Yega in 1964, showing recent dispersal of the population and the break-down of clan-based villages. House marked "A" is ringed in Fig. 11

(P.14-A)

178 and Samarai. They were away from home for
433 two years at a time and were not accompanied
464 by their wives and children. Since the war they
466 have not returned to indentured labour but
have tried other ways of earning money.

The first such experiment was an agricul-
494 tural co-operative, originated by a returned
241 soldier who got the idea from one of his
[177] wartime Australian friends. Anglican Mis-
sionaries sponsored and directed the scheme
[999] and some money was made from cash crops
of sweet potatoes, peanuts, and rice. However,
when the money was shared amongst all those
participating, it was a very small return for
the amount of work and there was widespread
dissatisfaction. The scheme was finally doomed
to failure by two events—the permanent re-
turn to Australia of the mission organiser in
January 1950, and the death of the Yega leader
in the Mt Lamington volcanic eruption in
[P.14-B]

January 1951. The failure of this scheme emphasises the important role of the individual leader in any innovation in New Guinea.

An important modification to the residential pattern resulted from the Agricultural Co-operative. Not only was co-operation practised in the gardens but co-operative theory was preached as a Christian ideal in the churches and taught in the schools and training colleges of the Anglican Mission. The teachers emphasised the practical advantages of living in a large community; for example, co-operative labour could be easily organized, social clubs could function more readily and school, church, and hospital would be more readily accessible to the majority. Most Yega accepted this view and, during 1953, many of them rebuilt their houses in a planned rectangular village, Beporo, close to the mission station (Figs. 4, 12). Here there was a tendency for the household heads of each clan to group their dwellings together and to maintain the same inter-clan relationships as had existed in the smaller villages. Nevertheless, there was a breakdown in the previously tight social control over the location of dwellings. Some men exercised this freedom by building away from their clansmen but near to their wives' kin and in some instances even sharing a dwelling with them.

Since 1960, seven new inland villages have been established along the road leading from Gona mission to the town of Popondetta. This movement inland from the coast was initiated by the development of a cocoa-planting project which is without doubt the most significant change in land use to have occurred yet. In 1960 the old wartime road between Gona and Popondetta (actually the last stage of the Kokoda Trail) was re-opened by the efforts of the Anglican missionary living at Gona. It gave access to land at Ononda which in the opinion of the District Agricultural Officer (DAO) was suitable for cocoa. As the Yega had previously made enquiries about planting cocoa, the DAO now advised them to clear a large area of rain forest and plant their cocoa in a continuous strip, which would then be sub-divided into individual blocks, rather than in the small scattered plots which is the usual pattern of indigenous cash crop plantings.

[P.15-A]

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177 b) The production of crops specifically for sale.

[654] c) The acceptance by the indigenes of
[657] supervision and advice from European and indigenous members of the Agriculture Department: people with whom they had no kinship ties.

d) The location of houses on the blocks.

[423] e) The registration, by some individuals, of freehold title.

245 It is unfortunate that the scheme which appeared so successful in its early stages should have failed largely because of circumstances outside of the people's control.

464 Many Yega have made no attempt to earn
[434] cash from commercial agriculture. From the time of earliest contact with Europeans some
166 of them have left home to work for wages. At the present time, almost one third of them are absent working, studying, or as dependents.

464 Forty-four per cent of all Yega men are away
178 working. Those who are married are accompanied in almost every instance by their wives
592 and children. This situation represents a
166 marked change from the pre-1940 years when many Yega men worked as indentured or casual labourers and could not take their dependents with them. Nowadays most Yega

[466] work in semi-skilled or skilled occupations in which family accommodation is often provided by employers. Even if accommodation is not supplied, the breadwinner's earnings are apparently adequate to provide living quarters for his wife and children; frequently town accommodation is of poor standard but evidently family life is preferred to separation.

871 The main factor in the marked improve-
178 ment in skills is education. The educational opportunities which have been available to the Yega for nearly fifty years have been exceptionally favourable, when compared with

[797] those of most other New Guineans. A mission school has operated in the area since 1909; since 1932 (except for war years) it has had at least one European teacher permanently on

[464] the staff. This educational background has enabled the younger generation of Yega men to take advantage of opportunities for employment in posts of responsibility and higher income which have become available in increasing numbers during the post-war period.

[P16-B]

21: Belshaw E-5 (1951) 1951 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mount Lamington

731 remember the dead in such ways. In the meantime one may hear the drums beating
765 in some villages as the men spontaneously come together for recreation and practice.

The programme of reconstruction, then, is very much a matter of the allocation
731 of time between such ends. To regard it simply as a matter of building houses and
making gardens would be a mistake. But even within that simple framework the
311 rate of reconstruction is dependant upon the availability of resources and the organization of work. It was estimated that the re-established population would have about five acres of land per head outside the danger perimeter—over 100 to the square mile. This is small compared with other areas of Papua, but it is held to be sufficient to maintain present standards of shifting cultivation. The forest building resources, with the possible exception of grass and sago thatch, appear to be adequate for immediate purposes, and it is hoped that thatch can be imported from near by areas. But there are indications, as we shall see, that agricultural requirements may alter; and it is not certain what effect this dense population will have on permanent timber resources. As against this, the people are permitted to extend gardens into the danger perimeter provided they do not stay there overnight. Unfortunately the immediate benefits of this are reduced by the fact that taro and other gardens are choked by weeds and the roots have in many cases rotted. It will take time to build up a stock of reliable seed and to turn this into good crops.

731 Papuans, and particularly the Orokaiva, work with great vim and energy when
they can work as a team, within sight and sound of each other. The melodious
461 song that rose as village groups combined to fell the forest on their new sites was exciting, and as the song died away the rhythm of the work continued, this time accompanied by back-chat and joking. All reconstruction work cannot take place with such groups—timber and cane materials, for instance, are gathered by people working apart from each other. But attempts were made to increase the frequency of directly co-operative work by a typical modern Papuan device, the allocation of work days by village constables and councillors, acting after a village meeting.
[657] The custom of Government Day, the day a week which is set aside for village hygiene
[797] and improvement, is universal in Papua. To this has been added, in some cases, a Mission Day, set aside for work in support of Missions. From this it is an easy step to allocate work for the week in such a way that most villagers will be doing the same type of job on the same day, and hence the possibilities of co-operation are increased. In most of the reconstruction villages Monday and Wednesday were set aside for house building, Tuesday and Thursday for garden work, Friday for hygiene and road construction (the latter a most important activity in the area at the present time), and Saturday free or for Mission work. This calendar was somewhat complicated by the rather inopportune demand of the Mission for a tithe of labour to expand Mission stations in the area, a task that could well wait until the people are more settled.

657 So far I have been writing mainly of the immediate problems of re-settlement.
The Administration is however taking a much wider view and there is a great deal of

21: Belshaw E-5 (1951) 1951 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mount Lamington

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a Co-operative Officer was posted to the Northern Division. His later reports cast further light on the nature of the movement.[8]

When the movement first appeared in Kokoda its apparent objects were to produce rice, as did the more regular co-operatives of the coast, and to build a store at Killerton, the port, apparently with the object of cutting costs. The rumours held that it was an order from the King that co-operatives should be formed, and that there had hitherto been no co-operatives in the area because the Government was angry with the natives for killing some Europeans during the war. Further, the co-operatives would have "bosses" appointed by the mission teacher who led the movement, and as a result of their activities the white people would leave Papua and the villagers would be in charge of their own affairs. At this point the movement seems to be very similar to a watered-down version of the "Masinga Rule" movement of the Solomons; but there is no clear evidence that there was actually a cargo cult.

The first duty of the Co-operative Officer was to regularize the position of these people, and to do this he visited the villages to obtain lists of contributors of money. He met with some resistance as a government agent, but seems to have been very successful in obtaining public confidence and in most cases lists were made. In accordance with official policy, the money was then handed back to the contributors, with the promise that regular co-operative activity would be supported and that contributions could be collected again when the people were ready for it. The Officer then moved to the Periho area, where the same situation obtained, and began to hull rice. At this stage the volcano erupted.

The reports of the Co-operative Officer at this time were frankly pessimistic. Many people refused to allow him to hull the rice when it was grown, though demonstration hulling tended to alter their viewpoint. The Officer interpreted this as showing that the people did not understand the objects of their activity, and that [797] they were not ready for co-operation. In fact, however, the position was complicated by the way in which the co-operatives had grown up as Mission-sponsored organizations, and the resistance seems to have been not so much to the idea of production, but to the intrusion of Government in a field the people wanted to keep for themselves, with Mission assistance. Government assistance was nevertheless very necessary, as the Mission had allowed crops to ripen without hulling and in general took an unrealistic view of business aspects of the movement.

At the same time it is true that the people were vague and mystical about their activity. Co-operative gardens and co-operative houses were made. The gardens were to produce rice and vegetables for sale. The principal feature of the activity seems, however, to have been religious rather than agricultural. A cross was erected overlooking the garden, and prayers were said before activity took place. The gardens were far too small to be economical—smaller indeed than many gardens of

[8] Co-operative Inspection Reports 1950-51, Co-operative Officer Northern Division to Registrar of Co-operative Societies.

731 For survivors from the settlements actually destroyed by the
121 eruption, the loss of many relatives remains a cataclysmic memory, feelingly recounted. But the fine points of organisation of the resettlement camps are very much harder to recover.

648 In this preface, my main purpose is to explain my research procedure. I should also, however, mention one or two general facts as a background to my report. The British Protectorate of New Guinea was proclaimed in 1884; the Territory of British New Guinea was placed under the authority of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1902. The effective conquest and pacification of the Northern District in which the Orokaiva live, occurred between 1894 and, say, 1906. It was to some extent speeded up by the presence of some gold miners who had to be protected and the road from Buna to Kokoda was built towards the end of that period.
[799] After the first world war, Europeans set up rubber plantations on a small scale; the Anglican Mission became established, especially along the coast. The process of pacification was a somewhat bloodthirsty event. If the Orokaiva are asked to state when they discovered what they call the "new day," i.e., modern civilisation, they refer neither to this conquest, nor to the events following the eruption, but rather to the second world war and its aftermath.

648 The Japanese conquered most of the Northern District in
177 1942 and were driven back, in the beginning of 1943, by the combined Australian and American forces which crossed the Owen Stanley range and defeated the Japanese along the Kokoda trail. Some Orokaiva collaborated with the Japanese and killed or betrayed Europeans who were left behind in the district. When the allied forces came, the Orokaiva were able for the first time to establish really comradely relations with white men who, moreover, were generous with gifts and left behind much valuable equipment. The returning Australian government developed a new colonial policy after the war eliminating the old use of compulsion and corporal punishment while the Anglican Mission and later the government did much to improve educational facilities. Access to trade goods on a major scale began about that time. Training in the handling of cash crops, notably coffee, also dates back to the immediate post-war period. The eruption, which occurred in 1951, certainly had significant social consequences, but it is not easy to keep these consequences, i.e., the modernisation that can be directly ascribed to government measures arising out of the eruption, distinct from the policy of social development that was being followed at this time throughout the district.

731 With regard to the eruption, we must distinguish three types of effect: first, a part of the district, notably that occupied by the Sangara tribe, felt the direct blast and suffered very heavy casualties, while all survivors were evacuated; secondly, a part of the district, occupied by several tribes, was endangered

657 Sivepe, as it happens, was one of the villages in which the plan
361 was pioneered.

Finally, I should refer briefly to communications. One
[491] general effect of the eruption was a shifting of villages to the side of jeep roads, as Belshaw also mentioned. The administration favoured this trend which greatly facilitated patrolling the villages. The Orokaiva always seem to have a liking for the Australian-built roads; Monckton already refers to their fondness for travelling over it and explains it gave a sense of security against possible attack by hostile tribes. Though this can hardly be the reason today, the liking remains. Over the last few years, the roads have begun to yield economic and practical advantage: trucks collecting coffee visit the villages and occasionally people can pick up rides from passing vehicles. Speed of travel is also improved for pedestrians. I shall discuss ideological aspects of this liking later.

872 The accessibility of facilities has also improved since
● 797 the eruption. Sivepe children now all go to the school at the Sasembata mission station which teaches up to Standard 6. Inonda children were first introduced to schooling after the eruption when the Seva people joined them accompanied by a mission teacher.
[368] After this mission teacher retired, Inonda was dependent on a school at Hohota. Only a few children went to this school because it was six miles away, across a deep river, but today, after the building of a new road and a bridge, and the latest shift of Inonda village, this distance has been reduced to about three miles and school attendance is regular.

The eruption changes the centre of gravity of the district.
368 The pre-eruption settlements of Higaturu and Sangara contained all
731 governmental and mission facilities, including the hospital and the schooling past Standard 2. Sivepe's link with these facilities was by a bush track running through Isivita. Today, Popondetta is the centre, but the hospital is at Saiho, the senior college near Agenahambo, the Local Government Council in the new Higaturu, near
[491] Agenahambo. Thus the main road to Popondetta, now greatly improved, has become the main artery. Nonetheless, for those who have to walk, the bush tracks from Sivepe to Saiho, Awala and Agenahambo are still important thoroughfares used by many dozen people every day.

Section 4: Resources

423 I have already referred to the main resource, owned by the
311 Orokaiva, which is their land. The Sivepe people own only about 480 acres, almost entirely gardening land, and very little of their land is in virgin bush. This small area is useful for certain

276 from relatives who live in the mountain districts or else obtained
439 by barter, or bought from other villages or at the Popondetta market.

Sago is made and eaten when other crops fail, but the plants
245 are also used as building material. As the supply of sago is very
[262] limited in both villages, the plants are highly prized. Inonda people owned only 21 trees so that the bulk of supplies was obtained from other areas, e.g., from wild sago trees over which they claim rights. In Sivepe, the total supply is in the vicinity of, probably, 300. This suffices for the local need, both as an occasional supplementation of the food supply and for building, when a great quantity is needed.

● [799] The special position of sago among economic trees was shown clearly in Miss White's description of the building of Sasembata mission station shortly after the eruption. This was a big project in which all the surrounding villages (including Sivepe) collaborated. Labour was given free and so were all building materials--apart from sago for which payment was expected and made. I was told by informants this was because sago is a cultivated, not a bush tree. During my field work period, the mission again needed sago roofing for expansion and repair of buildings, but this time no payment was made. However, each household was asked for a contribution of only two strips of roofing. Thus, it was again treated as a resource of special value as other materials were not supplied in such strict rations.

The ajimo tree, used for manufacturing bark cloth was not reported in Inonda by Crocombe and Hogbin but we did find a small
[287] quantity growing. Though bark cloth is only used for dancing costumes nowadays, in both villages, these dances still take place from time to time. The women's clubs have stimulated the production of painted bark cloth for sale, but this has not led to extra plantings. Sivepe's supply of ajimo trees was only one or two for most households, sufficient for an occasional festive garment with none to spare, but there was an abundance of ajimo in some other villages in the Sasembata district. Here we may notice a definite change between the pre-eruption period and the present at pre-eruption Inonda and because at Pamba, bark cloth was still the daily wear for everybody, so that the ajimo was an important economic tree. With this exception, there would seem to have been no change in the resources of economic trees of local origin.

The three introduced cash crops of significance in the two
241 villages have been rice (pre-eruption), coffee and rubber; in
177 both villages, one man grew a little cocoa. These industries, which developed in intensive interaction with Australian authorities, are perhaps better discussed in detail in a later chapter when these
[243] relationships are analysed. Rice plots were developed in the period between the second world war and the eruption; the plots in both

628 Kohorita), there should be a great many linkages between individuals, and there should be no major dissension, between the villages, for the time being.

I have already mentioned that each village has its own range of "closely allied" settlements: the Sivepe people would always mention Garombi and Binduta, while some families would also mention Sasembata, Kongohambo and Torogota; nobody would ever mention Isoge. But in Garombi and Binduta, Isoge was classified as a "closely allied" village. It was the same in Inonda, which mentioned Ajoro and Musou, while Ajoro mentioned Inonda and Hohota (see Map VIII).A

It is not easy to find a single criterion by which a village may be classified as "closely allied." One approach might be to count the number of informants who have close consanguines and/or affines in the village under consideration. On that basis (see Table 9) the ten "closest" villages to Sivepe would be: Sasembata, Garombi, Awala, Hamburata, Korogowbata (i.e., Binduta), Hojane, Binduta, Isivita, Togahou and Soroputa. Now these are not anything like the ten villages geographically closest to Sivepe. Togahou and Isivita are both situated outside the Waseta tribal district as defined by Williams. The list does not include Kongohambo which is less than one mile from the present site of Sivepe village.

On the other hand, if frequency of social contacts be a measure, the number of contacts with another village is determined to a large extent by geographical distance. Though only three Sivepe informants had first or second degree consanguines in Kongohambo, and only one Sivepe girl, to my knowledge, was married in Kongohambo, there were more distant links which were assiduously maintained and the closer links led to far more visits than, for instance, the links with Togahou, which was 15 miles away.

628 If we compare the contacts between "closely allied" villages
731 as between 1951 and 1967, the most striking difference is the effect of newly formed organizational units in which certain villages are administratively grouped together. Before the eruption, there was a great deal of contact between persons in these villages, through individual kinship and friendship links, but collective contacts remained confined to feasts, deaths and the settlement of
[582] quarrels. Individual contacts, presumably, were as frequent then as they are now, as it is characteristic of the "closely allied" villages that marriages were regularly contracted between them, so that most people would have some affinal or maternal kin in the allied village.

628 After the eruption, however, several modern organizations of
631 a range wider than the village were set up under Australian influence.
731 The building and maintaining of the Sasembata mission station, and the holding of regular Sunday services there, led to regular institutionalized cooperation between the villages. The men built
[794] the school and the hospital together, the children went to school
[797] together, the people worshipped and attended church festivals

A [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 7--Analyst]
B [See Cat. 116, p. 214--Analyst]

628 together, the church council, with representatives from all the
631 villages, deliberated together. This cooperation was a gradual
development occurring over the years under consideration; it will
731 be traced in detail in a later chapter. The setting up of wards
under the Higaturu Local Government Council led to further occasions
[794] for formal cooperation between villages belonging to the same ward.
It was characteristic of both the church and the government council
[797] organizations that they divided the Sasembata district into areas
with definite boundaries, each area comprising several villages.
The church recognized two such divisions, the government council
three. I have already emphasized that the idea of such boundaries
[192] was a novel one (see Map IX).[A] It is beginning to have two kinds
of effect: first, the strengthening of bonds between villages
within the same ward or the same section of a mission parish
(e.g., bonds between Sivepe and Isoga, which up to now have not
been closely allied) and secondly, the loosening of bonds between
villages divided by the boundaries which are now being defined
(e.g., bonds between Sivepe and Kongohambo, hitherto closely allied,
but now separated by administrative procedures).

These generalizations will be documented below; my task at
628 present is to consider contacts between Sivepe and closely allied
423 villages arising out of the eruption and relocation. Here inter-
village cooperation was a far less significant factor than inter-
578 village competition, especially for use of the land. One of the
deep anxieties of the Orokaiva in the refugee camps and later in
resettlement villages such as Irihambo, Awala, Kongohambo was that
if the people did not return to their land, some others might
decide to occupy it and it might be impossible to dislodge them.
This was a very real danger because neither in 1951 nor at present
is there in existence a land register from which the ownership of
individual or village parcels may be unequivocally established.
The Orokaiva plant boundary trees round their blocks of land and
[685] there is a taboo on interfering with these. This is not merely a
supernatural taboo; interference with a boundary justifies a
killing. It is far less clear, however, just what rights a person
holds in a particular parcel. As this is a crucial issue in the
whole history of Orokaiva resettlement, I should explain this in
some detail.

Crocombe and Hogbin provide an excellent example of the
423 ambiguity of Orokaiva land rights. After wars with the Sangara,
613 both the Andiriha and the Tandai'undi clans were driven from their
villages and settled down together in a village named Sambogo.
[621] Later, some of the Andiriha set up Inonda on land to which the
Tandai'undi had superior rights. At present, this land is used by
Andiriha, and upon inquiring into the legal basis of tenure I was
given the following explanation. Two daughters of the Tandai'undi
owner's lineage married into Andiriha and were given the Inonda
[428] land to "look after." As is usual among Orokaiva, this right to

A [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 8--Analyst.]

Section 3: Other Contacts Within the Sasembata District

628 As soon as we move beyond the closely allied villages, there is a sharp distinction between the behaviour appropriate with kinsmen or regular partners and friends resident in those villages, and the far more cautious and formal behaviour appropriate when dealing with all others. There are far fewer transactions between Sivepe and Isoge or Kendata than with Garombi or Kongohambo, and other close villages. But I believe that the frequency of such contacts fluctuates according to contingencies. For instance, Isoge and Sivepe are now expected to cooperate in both church and [178] local government council activities. This is definitely a somewhat novel experience. One clear example can be given of the changes in attitude this has produced over the last 16 years.

797 When the Sasembata mission station was built in 1952-1953, 794 all the villages contained in the parish collaborated. Miss White's 628 diaries show how this cooperation was organised. Miss White, who was in charge of the station, arranged with leaders from each of the villages what tasks they would be responsible for. For instance, the nearby Sasembata village would build the teacher's house, Garombi and Isoge would finish the hospital ward, Sivepe and Binduta would pull down the old pre-eruption Standard 1-3 classroom building, Duve and Totogota would finish the standard 4 building, Kongohambo build another schoolroom while Hamburata would cut and saw the wood for the desks. (28 December, 1952) Evidently, each group would work one day a week--and each group on a different day, as I understand.

653 The hospital building was duly finished in bush materials 628 and in 1966, while I was in the field, the time had come to pull it down and renew it. The Australian teacher in charge of the [759] station was unable to organise this work. There was, however, a Papuan medical assistant in charge of the hospital who was efficient and popular. On the occasion he treated the sore leg of a Sasembata man who was a carpenter. The man offered to build the assistant a "house," i.e., a hospital. He collected 20 men from Isoge, Garombi, Sivepe, Binduta, Hamburata and his own village. Together they built the hospital in a few weeks, working together every day. Often there were more than 20. When it was finished, he did not think it was strong enough. It was pulled down and rebuilt with more substantial studs.

The main difference between the building programmes of 1952 and 1966 lies in the manner in which the work was organised. In 1952, the largest effective cooperating group was the village. The mission was able to draw on the services of several villages, but only if they worked separately. In 1966, an Orokaiva builder, drawn from one village, was able to control and lead the work of a group recruited from all the villages of the Northwestern half of the parish acting as a coordinated team.

177 instituting numerous training programmes for the development of
657 skills hitherto unknown to Papuans, and by setting up organisations
647 in which Papuans wield a limited amount of political and administrative responsibility. It suffices, for my present purpose, to enumerate modern roles, performed by Papuans, with which the people of Sivepe came into contact during the year of my field study.

[799] In the church, Papuans now play not only the role of mission teacher, but also of priest (as Fr. Albert McLaren) and Bishop (as the Most Rev. George Ambo). Fr. Albert was the priest of the local parish, while the Bishop paid one visit to the district during the year, namely for the consecration of the church at Duve, a great formal occasion attended by at least 1,000 people, from the whole of the Sasembata district.

[625] Village constables exist no longer, but their place has been taken by the Local Government Council. Two of the councillors were regular visitors at Sivepe; the sanitary inspector appointed by the council, who lived at Garombi, came even more frequently, while many Sivepe people had occasion, during the year, to visit the Council chambers at Higaturu, where all officials are Papuan, with the exception of one European who acts as Advisory Officer to the Council and also as Magistrate for Native Court cases. Locally we had an officer named "Committee," which meant that he was a member of a committee appointed by the local councillor to enforce council regulations in the villages. Each village has one committee member whose tasks are not unlike those of the village constable, though the concept of the role is rather different, and will be discussed below.

[759] While the only medical role allotted to Papuans at the time of the eruption was that of orderly, nowadays there are Papuan physicians, two of them in the Northern District. One of them is medical officer for the district and the other, a woman, is attached to the hospital at Saiho. An increasing number of Papuans are being trained as Assistant Medical Officer, a five-year course. One of the graduates was attached to the mission hospital and aid post at Sasembata. Aid posts have been established by the government in many Orokaiva villages and manned by aid post orderlies who were trained in the Saiho Aid Post Training School. Inonda village is served by an orderly trained under this scheme (stationed at Hohota, three miles away), but the training scheme has been discontinued in favour of a more efficient scheme. The training of Papuan nurses started in 1958 while nursing aide training has started more recently. In addition to general training, these nurses are given an intensive course in maternal and child health.

[875] The same movement into senior statuses was characteristic of Papuan educational personnel. First, the training given to mission teachers before the eruption was in the main ecclesiastical, while in the Northern District in 1966, 35% had been through at least one year of formal teacher training; a smaller number had obtained a

657 647 177 Employed rather widely over the last decade or so, they have a responsible job, for which the qualifications include a reasonably high standard of education. In Orokaiva eyes, these men enjoy high status, as they have permanent, relatively highly paid positions and above all, because they control one of the most coveted European resources, namely motor transport. They very often have the power [494] to offer transport to Orokaiva travellers; their favours are eagerly sought; they carefully choose the men for whom they will stop on the road: kinsmen, residents of closely related villages, other men of high status.

Orokaiva accord high status to all Papuan employees of the government and the missions; one of the main reasons why men become, for instance, mission teachers is the high status they thus acquire in the villages where they are posted. This is so in spite of their very low pay; only recently has this low pay begun to deter recruits--due to the greater availability of higher-paid non-manual jobs for [875] Papuans. Mission teachers at Sasembata still regard themselves as aristocrats, who will speak somewhat deprecatingly of "the village people" and address them with some slight condescension. The best of them are most valuable as educators, not only in the religious sphere, but also through their knowledge of the outside world which they spread through their friendships with congenial villagers in the parish. They will also spread knowledge of elements of the culture of their own district, e.g., dances and songs, which are easily introduced into local repertoires. Most of the Sasembata mission teachers came from the Motu-speaking coastal district. One [797] problem with the mission stations has been, especially on the larger stations, that they develop into a sort of village of their own, a tight community with a deep conviction of its own superiority, not only because it is a mission village, but also because it is a Motu village and the Motu regard the Orokaiva as barbarians.

All the functionaries discussed so far are directly under the control of Australian institutions--the government and the church. The second category to be considered are Papuans playing roles for which they are elected or appointed by other Papuans. Within this category fall the members and officers of the Higaturu Local Government Council, the directors and manager of the coffee producers' cooperative, the local Member of the House of Assembly. None of these roles existed at the time of the eruption; they were created as part of the Australian policy, inaugurated in the 1950's, of preparing Papuans for at least local self-government and limited management of their own affairs. Though the views expressed by these officials hardly differed from those of the Government and Mission men, the Orokaiva received them much more warmly in their villages. Especially the councillors had to ingratiate themselves, their office being elective, and they handed cigarettes around. They were trusted far more than the government officials because the villagers felt they had some power over them; they were given local information withheld from the others.

657 Though most of the contacts between village people and the
647 office-bearers arise out of official roles, the local priest, the
177 assistant medical officer in charge of the Sasembata mission hospital, the mission teachers, the council's sanitary officer and others who lived near Sivepe, or temporarily stayed near Sivepe, tended to have at least one or two families with whom they were on mutual visiting terms and who regarded them as personal friends. At the same time, their relationship with many of the other Sivepe families remained definitely formal.

Contacts occurred almost always either in Sivepe or in a village nearby, on the initiative of the office-bearer (if the contact was official). Formal visits by councillors, sanitary inspector, [797] coffee factory officers occurred about once monthly. Contacts with Church personnel occurred almost daily at the mission station, though formal calls by the priest or a teacher to Sivepe were made perhaps once a month, usually in connection with some quarrel that [757] had arisen. The village was most active in its contacts with the mission hospital, several patients presenting themselves daily with [743] minor ailments. Serious cases were often referred to Saiho hospital [758] and most of the referred cases actually went to Saiho. There was a monthly visit from nurses dealing with infant health and expectant mothers; most of the mothers took their babies to be checked and weighed and no objections were made to preventive injections.

[582] There were no cases, in Sivepe, of inter-marriage between local people and Papuans occupying these specialized roles, but in Inonda one man married the mission teacher's daughter. Otherwise, contacts of the type described in this section were sparser in Inonda, as the mission and medical establishment was at Hohota, [232] three miles away, and on a far smaller scale. Inonda did have some direct contact with government over agricultural matters as one man expressed interest in entering an experimental scheme for growing beef cattle. He has adquate land and education, but the scheme had not gone beyond initial discussions by the time I left. [494] Finally, Inonda had an arrangement with a Papuan who was a distant affine and who had a truck with which he took garden produce weekly from Inonda to the Embi hospital. The village people paid this man for his cartage. No comparable arrangement existed in Sivepe. Finally, contact with the officers of the Local Government Council seemed to me less frequent in Inonda than in Sivepe and to generate much less interest. This was no doubt due to rivalries between the village leader and the councillor, but also to a less keen interest in council objectives on the part of the majority of families.

177 The contacts described in this section, unlike the ones discussed earlier, do not characteristically occur in a kinship context. Hence, the contacts do not necessarily occur equally with all categories of members of the community, but when the problems have to do with land or politics or the conduct of village affairs, the married men are principally concerned; in educational matters

177 in its attitude to culture contact, is somewhat homogeneous, Inonda
195 is deeply split between a Christian and a Pagan faction, and it is the Christian faction which is involved in coffee growing, the cattle project, the government sponsored women's club and wage labour whereas outside contacts for the pagan faction are truly minimal.

177 The changes which have occurred in the pattern of outside
181 contacts in Sivepa between the eruption and the present all involved changes in ideology. This is true for the pattern of inter-village cooperation and the interaction with Papuan functionaries no less
[199] than for the trade-store movement. It is an ideology referred to by the Orokaiva as "iji eha," "the new day" and it carries with it an acceptance of Christianity, the objectives of the Local Government Councils and the tenets of economic development. This ideology is as readily expressed by the Christians of Inonda as it is by the people of Sivepa.

177 Not only is this ideology of European origin, but the new types of contact that are being made among Papuans can be traced back, in almost every instance, to white men's actions. Generally, the village man or woman has but a minimal direct contact with the white man and such direct contact as does occur is liable to involve a minimal communication of ideas. Because of the language barrier,
[191] an interpreter is, at the very least, required as intermediary between white man and Orokaiva. Simple, direct communications can be effectively made in Motu which most Orokaiva understand and which many Europeans speak to some extent. Modern circumstances, however, increasingly demand the communication of more complex messages than can be transmitted by that medium, as used at present. More commonly, Papuan members of formal organisations act as middlemen for more complex messages.

It seems best to describe at the outset the pattern as I observed it in Sivepa in 1966-7--the pattern in Inonda and other villages was very similar--and then compare this to the pattern of 1951 and the rather untypical situation in the evacuation camps.
[101] All white men are known by the collective appellation and reference term taupa, but the roles in which taupa are truly familiar to the Orokaiva are few. Most taupa are government servants, traders, missionaries, soldiers. In Sivepa the white government servants most frequently encountered were: the patrol officer, the agricultural officer, the magistrate, the advisory officer of the Higaturu council; higher officials stationed in Popondetta were mostly known by rumour. The head teacher of the local mission school and his wife were both taupa; everyone was familiar with taupa planters and storekeepers. An unusual and very highly respected taupa, indeed a man to whom one never heard the term taupa applied, so well liked was he, was the superintendent of the Saiho hospital who took part in the Christmas dance at Saiho in Orokaiva costume, together with his wife, and who was invited to village feasts at which he ate with

731 retrospective look at the pre-eruption way of life."

Though most of the contemporary evidence tallies with the accounts of Belshaw and Keesing, I should refer to two documents both [784] dating from 1951 which add some subtleties. The first is a short manuscript by Fred Kleekham, agricultural officer, Popondatta, in which he says that "the Lamington eruption which obliterated the government station at Higaturu was regarded by many as payback for the hangings" (of Orokaiva responsible for the murder of missionaries). I tried unsuccessfully to find Orokaiva who still hold this belief. Mr. Kaad had not heard of it and suggested that as Kleekham was mostly working in the coastal region of the Northern District, he may have heard this interpretation of the eruption in that region. In any case, the explanation is worth noting because, once a disaster has been attributed to the anger of a supernatural agency, the causes of that anger are open to many plausible surmises.

797 Father Albert McLaren, while at Ilimo, composed two songs one 533 of which is still widely sung among the Orokaiva and even elsewhere, as it is included in a songbook distributed to primary schools in the Territory of Papua.

1

We were at Sangara
gathered together
With all our brothers
Living together

Chorus: Have mercy on them
Lord, we live in your hand

The mountain was made by Thee
It was not seen by us before;
Lord, when it appeared
We were wounded.

Chorus

O Heavenly Father,
Look on Thy servants
Who are in Paradise
In Thy Glory.

Chorus

When the mountain was shaken
They were watching
With their children
And were buried together

Chorus

797
533

In the land of Sangara
Are the bodies of our brothers
As though they were sleeping
But we shall see them again in the end

Our brothers on earth
Had many temptations
They went up to Heaven
In Thy Glory

The evening was bright
On the hills of Ilimo
But our thoughts
Are always with our brothers

731
784

Father Albert described to me his own experiences with the eruption. He lost his own brother who was with the mission, but he was saved because he had been sent to Isivita for the service on the day of the eruption. He was able to escape by running down from Isivita. When he came close to the village of Sinbeki, the darkness closed in. When the light returned, the clouds were red with flame or fire. When people saw this, he said, they thought the end of the world had come and this cloud was the fire of the Last Judgment that had come to burn them. Nobody knew anything about Higaturu being a volcano; or even of the existence of any volcano. They noticed the trees that were blown up, the branches broken down, the little hills of ash covering the valleys and people thought: this is the end of the world.

Father Albert said the Orokaiva did not use to have an idea of the end of the world; it was taught by Christianity. After the disaster, the people discussed it a great deal; through the disaster, God had shown the people just what was meant by the idea of the end of the world. I asked Father Albert whether he regarded the disaster as God's punishment for sins the people had committed, but Father Albert dismissed this idea: he did not think God would punish the innocent along with the guilty. This conversation took place many years after the disaster and can therefore hardly serve to refute the notion that in 1951, the eruption was regarded as divine punishment.

(797)

Several government officials charged that the Anglican Bishop actually encouraged people to think that the eruption was a visitation of the wroth of God, as they had not followed the laws of the Church of England. They even add a variety of anecdotes, in which the Bishop threatened that if some demand of his (different in each anecdote) was not met, he would make the mountain erupt again. After meeting Bishop Hand personally, I must confess I am rather sceptical about these stories. The Bishop felt that some Orokaiva believed the eruption was a divine punishment. He stated to me that in his own sermons he

731 did not encourage this belief but spoke of the eruption as a natural
784 disaster. Certainly this is how Orokaiva often speak of it today,
especially when they wish to give the impression of being modern and
[797] educated. Papuans close to the Mission invariably speak of it as a
natural disaster.

A group of elderly people in Sivepe, however, produced a quite different theory when I interviewed them in 1966. They explained the eruption by the anger of the god Sumbiripa. I was told that this explanation was the generally accepted one at the time of the disaster. At Hohorita, I was likewise told that the people, at the time of the eruption, thought of the anger of Sumbiripa, though later they learned it had been a natural disaster. My Sivepe informants, however, added
[797] a refinement. Before Sumbiripa blew up, he gave two signs. To the Isivita people and those of the Sasembata district he made a sign of blue fire, which meant that these people would be saved. To the Sangara people, he gave a sign of red fire, which meant that they all died. The reason for his anger towards the Sangara people was that they used to throw hand bombs and shoot guns on the mountain. This theory has the advantage of explaining the facts more closely than the theory of the anger of the Christian God; it is easier to believe that Sumbiripa discriminated between the two tribes than that the Christian God should do so.

731 Before attempting to draw these rather various interpretations
152 together under a common theme, I shall refer briefly to F. E. Williams' extremely cogent discussion on the Orokaiva's general attitude to guilt, for which I myself collected much additional documentation. When an Orokaiva is wronged he displays a state of mind called sisire.
[762] A person who is sisire withdraws, refuses food, destroys his own property, may even commit suicide. By displaying his sorrow, he hopes to shame the person who has wronged him. When a person is spoken to roughly, he will feel sisire, "ashamed." It is the normal reaction to being punished. The purpose is invariably to make the other party feel sorry for what he has done. There is something of that feeling in Father Albert's songs. The main mood is not so much contrition as the hope that the singer will make God feel sorry. This is not quite the same as what we understand by "guilt." All Belshaw's evidence suggests that the Orokaiva people after the eruption felt very sisire.

731 Certainly, the eruption would be followed by a resolve not to
784 make the harsh power that brought the eruption angry again. Whether this power was primarily identified with God or with Sumbiripa is
177 extremely hard to tell; it is even harder to tell whether these powers were viewed as being entirely distinct. Father Albert's testimony strongly suggests that the eruption was treated as symbolic of divine wroth as it was presented in the Bible. I have argued earlier that the Orokaiva look upon the Europeans as a new kind of culture heroes. The new dispensation brought not only new wealth and new knowledge, but also new wroth: Monckton's conquest, the world war, the eruption. It does not seem far-fetched to assume that the disaster was taken as

The rubber plantings followed a quota established for each village; in practise, a village man would make one of his garden plots available to the community at large and all the village trees would be planted there. This would be a communal work project. In accordance with Orokaiva tradition, however, the product of these rubber trees would be individually appropriated, each man being allowed to collect a limited quantity of rubber for himself and market it. The tasks of building the mission station and maintaining it further added to the amount of group work required. Men who took jobs on plantations once more found themselves in a group work situation which formed a contrast with the earlier tradition of individual effort.

It is paradoxical that the Australians, after first encouraging this group orientation, soon found themselves fighting against it, in the belief that they were face to face with that dangerous phenomenon "communism." The immediate post-war period, up to the time of the eruption, was the time when an ideologically based cooperative movement took root in the Northern District. This movement, which was centred on Gona, has been well described in general terms by Dakeyne (1966). It was the direct result of the work of two Anglican clergymen, Revs. Benson and Clint, who preached the virtues of cooperatives, and encouraged the cultivation of a great many village plots of rice and peanuts between the years 1947-1951. Dakeyne reports: "Rev. Flint was insistent that Christian ritual be associated with co-operative action. Educational and committee meetings always closed with a special prayer, there were church services at which tools were blessed and newly planted seed was blessed in the gardens. This aspect of the cooperative movement was regarded with some apprehension by Administration officers who felt it could be misunderstood by the Papuans and possibly lead to the development of a cargo cult. There was some evidence to suggest that a cult did in fact begin." (1966: 60)

The evidence, which Dakeyne does not cite, is interesting enough to be worth a brief mention. Kleekham, the agricultural officer for the coastal area at that time, reports in a memorandum (Kleekham, n.d.) that leaders of the movement were collecting taxes secretly and that "some mystical element was involved" in rice marketing. Kleekham had a huller and was willing to hull rice for growers' consumption or buy it for cash, but the people withheld their produce. He thought that this aloofness was due to the growers' belief "that the formation of and participation in cooperatives would--magically or mystically--in short time raise the native to the status of the European in all respects."

In some form, this movement reached both Sivepe and Inonda. At Sivepe, one man made a plot available where people could "cooperatively" grow rice. A deacon stationed at Sasembata, but a member of the Yega tribe where the movement had its origin, blessed the seeds and (according to my informant, allocated a section of the field to different individuals. The rice was hulled by the Administration's agriculture officer at Waseta and each man took his own rice back home, giving a

were to hear this message all the time; yet they came to listen and speakers managed to introduce enough news and good oratory to hold general attention. Furthermore, both in discussion after the speeches and later in private, they agreed with a good deal of it. There was no compulsion about this; if they were bored or disagreed, they were apt to slip away, either with an excuse or without one. If they became really tired of a councillor, they need not re-elect him after his two-year term was over. The councillors were the first, I was told, to change the people's thinking. The "committee" were not given to such oratory; people would never have tolerated it; their job was a humbler, purely executive one. But their actions were always in pursuance of the general principles enunciated by councillors; they were made "legitimate" by what the councillors said. "Committee" was definitely not the mouthpiece of Australian authority, but of the council. This was an ambiguous position, as I already pointed out, because the courts on which the councillor depended as ultimate sanction, was Australian-controlled. Nonetheless, at the level of face-to-face relationships, which mattered most, the "committee" had to rely on his own authority.

Some were not very successful; in Sivepe, the "committee" was at the same time clan-leader and feast-leader; it was therefore very hard indeed to ignore him. In villages where the feast-leader stood aloof from the Council structure, the malcontents could gather round him and defy Council authority until the patrol officer intervened. This is what happened in Garombi, a neighbour-village to Sivepe. Here traditional and modern authority were vested in different persons, whereas in Sivepe both were vested in the same person.

The pattern of religious leadership was much more subtle. First, at Sivepe and Inonda, as in many other places, cooperation with the mission began long before anyone was baptised or even a catechist. At Sasembata, the first phase started after the war. The Orokaiva were glad to have the mission because it provided education for their children (this was the advantage always cited) and no doubt also because of some benefits in the form of European goods. In return for these benefits, the local people helped with land and with labour for buildings, carrying, etc. The man on whose property the rice was grown before the eruption was not, and never became a Christian but died a Pagan in 1963. It was consistent with Orokaiva religious concepts to ask a deacon to bless the seeds of a European crop--the Orokaiva do not know the magic appropriate to this crop, whereas the deacon could be presumed to know.

None of the people now living at Sivepe were baptised before the eruption. After the post-eruption Sasembata station was established a large number of people were soon accepted as catechists and on 6 March, 1963, 1265 people from all parts of the Sasembata district were baptised, including some from Sivepe; there was a second mass baptism in September, 1955, and by this time at least one lineage (or plant emblem group) in Sivepe was wholly Christian. The most senior man in

this lineage was the village constable. Though the records are by no means satisfactory, it is clear that between 1955 and 1963, virtually the whole of the Jegase clan became baptised while in 1963--but only then--the majority of the Seho clan became Christian. The time lag between the clans was not insignificant, as the head of the Seho clan, who refused to be baptised, died in 1963, and it was after his death that the new leader, his son, joined the Church, together with his clansmen. It would be wrong, however, to suggest that it was only the death of the old leader which delayed conversion, because the records for the Sasembata district as a whole show 1962 and 1963 as the years that Christianity became the dominant religion in these villages. Before 1963, the pattern seems to have been similar to the present one in Inonda: one clan or faction was baptised, while the other held out. It was told that it was the old men with a reputation for black magic who felt most disinclined to abandon Paganism, as they feared it would harm their powers.

I shall delay a general discussion on the Church until a later Chapter and confine myself here to a discussion of the impact on community organisation. Undoubtedly, the eruption accelerated the development of some of the Anglican mission stations. While before 1951, the mission in that district was centralised in Sangara, the new centre was in Popondetta, well away from the populous area around the mountain. The major station still operating in the Mount Lamington area was the one at Waseta. In 1951, major stations were established at Sasembata, Agenahambo and Irihambo, while the Hohorita and Isivita stations which followed later completed the coverage. One impetus to the support given to the Sasembata station by the people was undoubtedly the active programme of the church during the evacuation period, when there were daily church services as well as church participation in the education and health field.

One feature that became established during the evacuation period was regular schooling for the young. The extent to which the people recognised this as a momentous change in community life is shown by a ritual introduced about that time and still observed at the present. In 1967, the head teacher announced that school would start on a Thursday but no pupils came. The people told him the children were not "ready." The following Sunday, all the children--and only the children--gathered for a "feast"--a common evening meal at which they were obsequiously served by the adults. This was a feast to farewell them, I was told, for the next day they would go away to the school. The measured distance between the village ground and the school ground was six chains. The children were home every night and every lunch hour. Nonetheless, in a more essential sense they were leaving the village to submit to the influence of strangers.

When Sasembata station was reopened in 1951, no community organisation was associated with the church so that the mission teachers had to make contact with villages for any work they wanted done and this was arranged on an ad-hoc basis. Nowadays, there are two forms of

one occasion he did complain about weeds growing in one part of the village; he was also involved in a complaint against two men who were living in condemned houses. The first time I saw him in the village he gave an illustrated lecture on the causes of malaria and methods of malaria control. This was received in much the same spirit as any other metaphysical speculations, which people are not yet ready to share.

There is in progress in the Territory a malaria eradication campaign, for which numerous Papuan technicians have been trained and which involves, i.e., the indoors spraying of villages with DDT. While I did not see any such teams in action, I did notice that anti-malarial injections were standard treatment at the infant health clinic that was held close to Sivepa once a month. Attendance at these clinics was general for all mothers with children of pre-school age. Apart from anti-malarial injections, the nurses offered treatment for sores and other minor ailments; they weighed babies and they took seriously ill young children with them to the hospital. While it was easy to induce mothers to come, it was harder to gain acceptance for Western ideas when these conflicted with Orokaiva ones. This applied especially to child nutrition.

The health authorities had successfully campaigned against the Orokaiva custom of premasticating food given to babies; mothers had stopped doing this, as it was considered uncivilised. On the other hand, nobody obeyed the instruction to wash taro before it was given to babies. The washing of taro offended the spirit of the taro; it was considered out of the question. An alternative suggestion was to give babies pawpaw, considered by nutritionists to be an excellent baby food. But this food was also avoided by Orokaiva, as it was thought to cause scabies. The result was that Orokaiva babies tended to go through a period of critical malnutrition after weaning and before solid taro can be digested. Our own suggestion to Orokaiva mothers--to go back to premastication--was naturally considered to be no more than a bad joke.

Section 4: Social Services: Education

The education system, like the public health system consists of a government sector which is responsible for the bulk of education expenditure and a mission sector which is responsible for the majority of children. In 1965, the mission educated some 65% of the primary school pupils of Papua and over 60% of all pupils. Mission expenditure from its own funds was given in the Territory of Papua Report (1966: 99) as 8.6% of total expenditure on education. In the Northern District, there were four administration primary schools for Papuans (2,403 pupils in 1967) and 54 mission primary schools (8,547 pupils in 1967). The breakdown (see Table 14)[A] shows that schooling generally continues

A [See Cat. 116, p. 219--Analyst]

871 until the end of Standard 4, but that schooling beyond that level
797 is taken by a far smaller number. A great many mission schools teach only up to Standard 4, so that those who wish to proceed further have to attend a boarding establishment.

872 Sivepe was fortunate in that the nearby Sasembata mission
877 school conducted classes to the end of Standard 6. This was a comparatively recent development; when the school was reopened after the eruption, it still went no further than Standard 4. Most pupils will stay at the local school for the full programme, but some who fail the examinations at the end of Standard 5 drop out. Sasembata School has boarding facilities for students from other mission schools who have to leave home to get education after Standard 4. These are accommodated in dormitories built of bush materials on the mission station.

872 Inonda was less favourably placed. A school opened at Sivepe in 1952 by a Seva mission teacher displaced by the eruption, was closed down in 1959. Today, the nearest school, at Hohota, three miles away, teaches only up to Standard 2. Anyone proceeding beyond that level had to board at Popondetta for further schooling. In 1967, there was one Inonda boy receiving education in Standard 4 at the Popondetta primary school. There were no children at Inonda who had left school at Standard 2 and were hanging about at home; it will be interesting to know how many of the seven children at present in Standard 2 will go to Popondetta next year.

873 Post-primary schooling is available at four institutions in the Northern District (two government, two mission) with a total attendance of 719, but neither Sivepe nor Inonda had students there in 1966-67. At levels above Standard 4, the education system tends to become increasingly selective, with tough examinations to reduce the number of those who take up boarding places at secondary school facilities. External examinations are set for students completing Form II (i.e., Standard 9), Form III and Form IV. For the most successful, university and other advanced training is available; those who have completed
[874] Standard 7 or higher can enter teacher training schools. Two of the post-primary schools in the Northern District are technical schools which train apprentices. Training for nurses is not yet available in the district, except with the mission, which issues no diplomas.

871 Education in most of the Northern District is not yet compulsory, even though legislation exists to enable the government to declare school attendance compulsory in specified areas. Popondetta has been declared an area of compulsory education. It is true, as the government claims, that even where schooling is voluntary, virtually all children enroll and attend from the age of five. The length of attendance depends on the type of education available in various areas; thus, it would generally be longer in Sivepe than in Inonda.

The curriculum, both in the government and mission schools, is very highly standardised and mission education is of necessity dominated by the need to prepare students for government examinations.

experiences. The problem remains how ideas bearing on social and economic development can be systematically communicated. When I asked Orokaiva people what language they thought ought to be made official after independence is granted, English was hardly ever suggested. Some said Motu, others Pidgin. I was impressed, however, with the meticulous care the Orokaiva bestow upon their own vernacular. Most of my informants could help me to get Orokaiva texts spelled correctly (and their advice hardly ever conflicted); they were most precise about correcting my grammar and would laugh irrepressibly when a man made a grammatical slip in a speech recorded on tape--this was a joke for days. I would therefore agree with Wurm that a language such as Orokaiva (spoken by at least 25,000) should be used for literacy work and for elementary education.

Teachers are trained both in the mission and the government system, but the mission system is primarily aimed at training in Bible knowledge, religious doctrine and Christian values. In the early years of the mission any promising pupil, with two or more years of elementary schooling, might be chosen for training as a mission teacher. Certainly he would get some coaching in how to teach school, but the emphasis was above all religious. More recently, a number of courses were set up by government and mission teachers were encouraged to enter for such courses. The A course is open to men with a Standard 6 education and takes one year. The B course is open to men with a Form 2 education and takes two years. The administration insists on an A certificate as a minimum qualification; in the Northern District, new appointees were usually expected to have a B certificate. The mission is less fortunate; in 1966 in the Northern District, only 97 out of 274 mission teachers had either an A or a B certificate. Out of the Sasembata staff of 12, five were trained; out of the Hohota staff of four, one was trained.

The educational qualifications of the teachers are one more reason why it is hard to teach with English as the language of instruction; most of these teachers speak little English themselves. English is their third-best language (next to vernacular and lingua franca) and most of them, even if they come from other districts, will still have more command of Orokaiva and Motu than of English. Many of those at Sasembata came from the Coastal district so that their vernacular was not Orokaiva, but a tongue closely akin to Orokaiva. Those who meet their pupils outside school would not speak English to them then, this being the least effective way they would have of communicating with each other.

Teachers' salaries are a subject that has continued to puzzle me. Government teachers are paid according to a scale the bottom of which, in 1965, was $480 per annum. The mission pays $4 per month to Papuan teachers and $12 per month to expatriate teachers. In addition all mission teachers receive free housing, some gardening land to grow taro, occasional distribution of fringe benefits, such as Christmas gifts of used clothing from Australian supporters of the mission. In

875 spite of this vast differential, the mission continues to recruit
[465] certificated teachers who are qualified for government jobs. These men live on the mission stations with their families. The mysterious aspect of the salary question was the payment by the government of a
654 grant-in-aid to the mission in respect of all mission teachers who
797 held A course certificates or better. The amount payable ranged from $240 per annum to $1000 per annum according to qualifications and skin
875 colour, but in all cases the government paid the mission in subsidy far more than the mission paid the teachers. The only explanation of the disparity I could get was that the Bishop had suggested and the teachers had agreed that all mission teachers work equally hard and well and should be paid the same. Thus, the money received from the government was supposedly shared among all teachers--certificated or not--and the government is apparently not concerned how the mission spends the grants-in-aid.

871 Mission schools are inspected by departmental officers and receive classroom materials on the same basis as Administration schools.
[877] Grants-in-aid are paid to missions for the maintenance of students at a boarding school. There is provision for Local Government Councils to provide school facilities over and above the government minimum standard, and receive government subsidy for these, but this provision was little used in the Northern District. Though a few of the school texts have been prepared by the mission, most materials have been supplied by the Department of Education. These materials tend to be class sets of graded school text books in the basic subjects, English, Mathematics and Social Studies. Little reading material is available
[207] over and above basic texts. Such curriculum enrichment as there is comes mostly from the educational broadcasts which are frequent and produced with great care. In view of the limited training of most teachers, the value of these radio lessons is considerable. In 1965, 38 broadcasts per week were available to school children.

652 In 1967, the government brought in an education tax which was
871 expected to be levied by school principals. The various missions of the Territory were disturbed about this demand, as it would turn them into collection agents for the government. Furthermore, the missions knew the fallacy of the argument on which the government relied for the defence of this tax. It was not true, as the government alleged, that Papuans passively accept education as a handout and feel no obligation to contribute to their children's school education. Orokaiva parents, and notably those of Sivepe, are constantly making substantial contributions. The head teacher at Sasembata told me that in 1966-67 he had received $300 in financial contributions as well as a great deal of labour assistance for the building of new classrooms, new teacher's residences, the hospital, etc. and the building materials necessary for these projects including sago thatch and blackpalm flooring--both of them scarce materials requiring a good deal of labour as well. These contributions if calculated in financial terms would come to a good deal more than the tax of $1 per child the head teacher was

CHAPTER VII: Mission Welfare Efforts

Section 1: Mission and Community

797 361 The mission at Sasembata formed a kind of community of its own. From the ground plan of the mission station (Map XI) it will be seen that it differs somewhat from a village layout. In order to grasp its essentially Orokaiva nature, I shall have to compare the station with others I saw: at Hohorita, at Waseta, Isivita, etc. The Church and cross always occupy a central position. The houses at Hohorita and most other stations are in two facing rows, just as in an Orokaiva village, but at Sasembata the central field is so wide that this did not develop. The position of the church in the centre rather reminded me of the position in which Orokaiva build their feast houses; these are always in the central space facing away from Mount Lamington with a sizeable open area in front. The houses tend to be a little bigger than those in the villages. Since the craze for timber houses started, the mission lost no time in replacing its own teachers' houses with timber ones. Materials for these were always supplied by villagers.

895 425 797 It was traditional for villagers also to supply teachers with land for growing taro. At Sasembata, the mission found it hard to get this land; it would be lent from year to year, but never, as the head teacher would have liked, on a permanent basis. The Papuan priest was rather put out over this and talked about leaving, for that reason. This difficulty over land was not, as the head teacher supposed, a sign of meanness, but rather of the continuing power struggle between people and mission.

797 This power struggle is best understood as a variant of the kind of rivalry that exists between any two villages, except that the mission station was a village of a special kind. Between the time it was first founded (in 1945) and the eruption, the staff was entirely [731] Papuan. The eruption led to no defection but to a strengthening of [764] the bonds between church and people, partly because of the Orokaiva interpretation of the disaster (which emphasized the powers of the Christian God) and partly because of the interpretation of mission operations in the affected areas. After 1951, the station and the school were much enlarged, and a European head teacher and a European nurse were assigned to Sasembata. These white missionaries would negotiate directly with the village men and obtain what help they needed--labour, materials, land--in exchange for their educational, medical and religious services. In 1955, a Papuan priest was attached to Sasembata. He gradually gathered round him a number of teachers from his own language area (the coastal Motu language) and

A [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 10--Analyst]

this became the core of a new community. At the time of my arrival the European mission sister had been replaced by a Papuan assistant medical officer who, though from another tribal area, strengthened the Papuan missionary group. There were ten teachers, a priest, a deacon and the medical officer, together with their mostly large families--a population that must have been close to 100. Also on the mission station were the boarding school students, adolescents from various districts (their number was around 60), some of them related to the mission teachers. It was customary for the teachers to adopt the children of relatives to be educated on the station under their care. This further added to the Papuan mission station strength.

In this atmosphere the European staff, though indisputably in command, were severely handicapped, as usual, by their lack of information about what was really happening on the station. Not infrequently, I was better informed about this than the head teacher, because the station gossip would flow very easily into Sivepa whereas the mission staff were careful not to tell the head, for fear of inviting instructions they might not wish to obey. The big building projects, such as the hospital, were organised without his knowledge; the workers suddenly appeared and started work; after a few weeks pulled down the building, not being satisfied with it, and started again. They only approached the head when they wanted nails.

To the Orokaiva of the district, the real power struggle was not with the head but with the mission staff. This does not reflect on the head personally; indeed, shortly before my departure, he became a candidate in the Higaturu Council elections and was elected councillor for the ward which includes the mission station, on the votes of surrounding villagers. This very fact, however, indicates that he was not involved in the power rivalries surrounding the station; it was expected that he would be effective in negotiating with the council for water supplies, roading improvements and such like and that, being virtually a stranger, he would not upset existing power relations.

The power rivalries arose because the mission station Papuans regarded themselves as definitely superior to the villagers. The Motu-speakers especially thought of themselves as carriers of a higher culture than that of the Orokaiva--better dances, better loincloths, better headdresses, better pots, and above all, a long association with the mission during which their district had become altogether more civilised than the inland people. It was because the Orokaiva were ignorant that they had to depend on Motu mission teachers.

This boasting troubled the Orokaiva especially because it had some factual basis. Much present-day Orokaiva culture is borrowed from the coast and coastal art and technology is superior in sophistication. Gona was the birthplace of the Anglican mission of the Northern District; hence, the coast has produced a disproportionate number of priests and mission teachers, the most prominent of whom is the Bishop who is himself a Gona man. In these circumstances owners of land surrounding the mission station saw some risks in making

797 177 permanent gifts of land: the populous mission village, if granted a permanent landed foothold, might well become excessively powerful and even oppressive. As long as the missionaries had only temporary tenure, their dependence on the villagers would always remain manifest.

No Orokaiva begrudged the mission teachers their special and high status derived from their office as teachers and preachers. While their duties were mostly with the school, they all gave occasional religious lessons in the villages. One teacher made such a visit to Sivepe nominally once a month, and always after there had been a serious village fight, thus helping the reconciliation of the combatants. There was an even more marked respect for the priest, deacon and AMO. This respect was expressed, for instance, when the village trade store at Sasembata villages, which usually operated on a fairly strict cash basis, was willing to give credit to mission teachers. (Regrettably, some proved slow payers.) There was also a convention whereby fights were promptly stopped when a mission teacher appeared and asked the combatants to stop. (The same taboo exists against fighting in the presence of cross-cousins of the category known as simbo.)

[535] The coastal immigrants, however, aspired in addition to a general cultural ascendance. As one example of this, they liked to introduce among the Orokaiva their coastal dances and songs. The Orokaiva were avid pupils (as their culture history suggests they have been long before the days of Christianity). At the big dance held at the mission station in June, 1967, at least two entirely new dances, both of coastal origin, were introduced, one by the women of Sivepe and Kongohambo, and one by men and women from Waseta. In both cases, the teachers were missionaries from the coast. In both cases, the dance had never previously been seen in Orokaiva territory.

A significant source of power for the mission settlement was its indispensable role in the containment of quarrels not only within but also between villages. Sports matches tended to lead to fights, but they tended to be far more peaceful if they were held on the mission station. This was a place where people had to repress their anger. During my stay at Sivepe, several attempts were made to play matches in the village, but after two serious fights, people agreed with the priest's suggestion to play on the station in future.

Section 2: A Case History: Women's Organisations and the Mission

595 The following brief description of women's organisations in the Sasembata area, and especially Sivepe, will illustrate the general propositions concerning mission-village relationships set out in the previous section. There are no traditional women's organisations among [593] the Orokaiva, though the women do certainly at times act as a solidary [626] group in village affairs, especially when a husband is seen maltreating his wife. The other women will then club together with the wronged

177 of the dead remained basically unchanged, Christian burial rites
[775] and cemeteries are generally used in the belief that they are
efficacious in controlling ghosts. Girls were "shown to the people"
[764] after initiation, preferably on the mission station during the Easter
dances. The kere which was a women's initiation dance, was also
[881] performed on a mission occasion (the celebration of St. Barnabas Day,
in honour of the patron saint of this station).

What was the motive of mission teachers introducing a new form
881 of initiation ritual to the Orokaiva? This extramural activity,
177 performed in the dead of night, signified a little more than the
intertribal status rivalry analysed earlier in this chapter. The
[533] text of the songs gives no obvious clues to their significance at the
present time. Though it was made up of at least four or five languages,
due to diffusion of the cycle through the Northern District, I managed
to collect a translation of most of it during a tour of Port Moresby
when we visited knowledgeable members of various Musa River tribes.
The songs evoke a series of phases in a woman's life, stating symbolically
her role in initiation, courtship, marriage, childbearing and feasting.
They are very rich in symbolic content which is not relevant here. But
they contain no message that can be related to any modern millennial
or cargo cult. During a visit to Uiaku, in the Collingwood Bay district,
my wife found that the old women in that village knew the songs but
not the younger ones. This points to diffusion from the Musa to the
Collingwood Bay district some decades ago. All this evidence confirms
the mission teacher's own explanation given to me that he introduced
this cycle in order to keep old traditions alive, in order to give more
strength to the younger generation which had not been properly initiated.

I was impressed by the strong religious sentiment displayed by
881 the performers especially in the very first dances. They might at that
177 time be doubtful about dance movements and words but not about the
781 demeanour appropriate to the impersonation of spirits. At the very
first practise, even the young girls knew the right bearing, intonation
and rhythm. This was not truly the introduction of an alien ritual;
the purpose and the strategy could not have been more familiar.

The involvement of my wife in this initiatory ritual helped to
771 lend it the ambiguity that was evidently intended. It was not the
177 purpose of the mission teacher to set up this pagan ritual in opposition
to Christianity but rather to bring about its continuity in a Christian
● 797 order. I have already shown in earlier chapters that the Christian
dispensation is conceived as not only a religious but also and importantly
a socio-economic one--that Christianity, wealth and wage labour are
perceived as part of the same complex. If it can be made to accommodate
women's initiation ceremonies (after jettisoning, of course, those
aspects to which the clergy takes exception) future generations will
have the strength of the forefathers. This desire for greater
strength, in a physical and numerical as well as spiritual sense,
was often expressed to me.

Section 4: Social Services

797 The mission contribution to health and education has been set out in the previous chapter. It is of course the mission rather than the government which has pioneered the social services in the Territory. The first contact the Orokaiva had with Western medicine and education was through the mission sisters and the teachers trained, however inadequately, by the mission. The scholarly inadequacies of the mission teachers, though regretted, had not marred the primary aim of the church which was to inculcate Christian values and introduce some acquaintance with the arts of civilisation. If before the second world war, education was not viewed by the mission as a weapon in the struggle for economic development, it must be remembered that economic development of the Papuans was not deliberately pursued as an objective by the government or any other influential group in the Territory.

797 At the present time, mission education poses a dilemma. The government school inspectors express their concern over the generally 871 low academic standard of the smaller mission schools. It has now been established as a rough rule that schools, in order to receive 875 government approval (and therefore financial assistance and examination facilities), should have a ratio of trained teachers of at least one in three. The term trained is defined, for the benefit of the mission schools, as meaning the possession of an A certificate. Over the whole of the Northern District, one in three is approximately the average.

797 There has been no case where the government has actually caused a school to close down. Such action would certainly greatly anger the 871 Anglican authorities, who argue with some force that the government has no practical means to replace the educational service of the missions. It lacks trained personnel, just as much as the mission does. Moreover, it is far more expensive to conduct a government school than a mission school and the government cannot afford this extra expense. Finally the mission argues that for the Papuan, as an essentially religious person, education ought not to be divorced from religion.

875 Meanwhile, the government is rapidly upgrading its own standards of training. It restricts to the utmost the intake of teachers with 657 A certificates and encourages, by means of salary and other incentives, the obtaining of B and C certificates. It is gradually widening the scale of its operations. At the same time, the government is performing a most valuable service by giving refresher courses to practising mission teachers, thus improving their knowledge and giving them a more professional attitude to their teaching tasks. I watched Sasembata teachers who went to these courses which certainly provided much stimulus. In Hohorita, the mission conducted special classes for adults who lacked a standard 6 education. These were mostly attended by mission teachers who thus became qualified to do further study toward a teacher's certificate. The mission conducted some teachers

training schools which prepared students for examinations for these certificates.

Though many men with teacher's certificates and advanced medical training take up positions with the government, where salaries are far higher, there is still a considerable inflow of qualified Papuans into the mission ranks. One reason for this may perhaps be found in the sketch I gave earlier in this chapter of a typical mission station settlement. The educated man who takes up a job with the mission receives his reward, not only in the satisfaction of religious service and the approbation of the mission towards which he is usually obliged for his education, but also an assured social status in a community in which he can feel thoroughly at home and can set up the type of social relationships to which he is accustomed. A government position on the other hand tends to isolate and detribalise teachers and hospital workers and thus be less satisfying socially.

Finally, it should be stressed that the mission is responsible for the education of Papua's educational élite. Martyrs School, once built at Sangara where it was destroyed by the eruption, and now established just outside Agenahambo, prides itself on a higher academic standard than any of the other secondary schools of the Northern District. It is able to choose the most proficient of the products of the primary school system, not only in the Northern District, but in the whole of Papua. One man in Sivepe and one in Inonda had been to this school but neither had continued to the secondary Forms. But the church-educated élite will dominate the Northern District for some years to come, until the graudates from the new University of Papua New Guinea will take over this status.

CHAPTER IV: Acculturation at the Time of Resettlement

My concern in this chapter is not to discuss acculturation in general, which has been done already in earlier chapters, but to consider the variations in degree of acculturation that existed between individuals and groups in the sample villages. This is an issue of some importance as the main line of change has not been so much that wholly new culture elements were introduced between 1951 and the present (though there were some of these, too) but that culture elements accepted by an élite in 1951 have become generally accepted today, while other elements again are now in the stage of being accessible to an élite of the younger generation.

There are many innovations which can be adopted by Orokaiva only on a village basis. I have already referred to the changes in house design; such changes were never made individually, though less conspicuous changes (the use of nails rather than bark twine) may be made by an individual. The abandonment of initiation ceremonies can likewise occur only on the basis of a corporate decision. At Sivepe they were abandoned after the war; on the other hand, girls' puberty seclusion and the subsequent ostentatious "coming out party" continued. Also, male initiation was widely replaced by a custom called a "birthday party" which was given to every boy of the age of nine or ten. Similarly, the inclusion of money in bridewealth is an innovation which, once made in a homogeneous community, is bound to become standard practise. In Sivepe the first such payment was amassed in 1950 and the median payment has been $24 since, without much upward trend, while in Inonda the leading family raised the rate well above this.

On the other hand, much change was the result of individual decisions which were gradually followed by enough individuals to make them into a change of general norm. Thus, girls' puberty seclusion used to last from three to six months; today, it often lasts no longer than three weeks while in Inonda, I was told, it is still shorter. In Sivepe, girls are usually still at school when the first menses begin. The Australian school teacher was most disturbed about the mysterious disappearance of his senior girls at this time and their dubious excuses when they returned to school, which however they did not always do. Until I told him, he did not fully realise that puberty seclusion was still practised in the villages; nobody had told him as they feared he might try to stamp out this custom. Some individuals keep their daughters secluded for months, even today.

At the time of the eruption no baptisms had yet occurred at Inonda, and only one, as far as I can find out, in Sivepe--and this man settled at Agenahambo later after a failed marriage. For the Inonda people, the nearest school was at Seva, and one boy (now the

environment, though he fulfills that role as well, as we have seen in the case of the introduction of the kere. The cultural values he has the duty to transmit belong to the expatriate culture of which his own knowledge is bound to be somewhat superficial. He therefore has three cultures to manipulate, not merely two.

The most senior, and by far the most influential of these mission people was the pastor. Unlike the others, he did not permit himself to gloat over the superiority of coastal culture; in my own interviews with him I found his attitude towards Orokaiva culture to be consistently one of respect. He would point out differences between Orokaiva and his own people, but unlike the deacon and the teachers, he would do so with objective detachment. He felt very much the burden of his role as the local representative of God.

At the time of the eruption, he was a mission teacher, but shortly afterwards, he was sent back to Dogura for some years' training for the priesthood. Upon his ordination, he was sent to Sasembata in 1955. At that time only a small minority in Sivepe and the other villages had been baptised. By 1963, he had drawn almost everyone of his parish area into the church. He told me that this was not a trend peculiar to his parish; in 1963, there had been a great many baptisms throughout Orokaiva territory, and pagans had become quite a small minority.

A paradox in his position, to which I have already referred, was that though people were very cooperative in church work, attended his services, his special meetings, provided labour and materials, accepted his adjudication in quarrels, had him bless their guns and always showed him the highest respect, they would not give him land even on a semi-permanent basis. I have explained what I think to be the reason for this, but it was hard for the pastor to accept. He was threatening to leave and go to another parish where he could get some land. To him this was as symbolic as to the Orokaiva: it seemed unjust that after doing so much and being so familiar with the language and culture, they should insist on treating him as a stranger. Indeed, if he had settled as a private person, it would have been very harsh.

In Inonda, there were currently no key personalities of this category. Religious services were conducted by a local man. The retired Sangara mission teacher, however, had definitely been a key personality from the time of the eruption until his retirement in 1959. Though he was an Orokaiva, he belonged to a tribe which had been the most dangerous hereditary enemy of the Inonda people and before whom they had had to flee from their traditional territory around 1910.

The teacher, whose baptised name is Moses, was called Kusuale at birth, his namesake being his father's father. The latter, so I was told, was named in "the old way": it was the name of an enemy who had been recently killed. Moses went to school, was trained as a mission teacher in Dogura, and took up teaching in 1922 or 1923. He taught in his native district (Sangara) until the Japanese invasion, after which he closed school and went into the bush with the rest of

177 the people. When the Japanese were gone he went back to his old village;
●797 around 1946 he took over a school at Sewa, established after the war in a hitherto heathen area. Moses told people to build school rooms, houses for the teachers and a church. The people worked hard on these projects because they wanted to send their children to school. The school served a number of mountain villages in the vicinity of Sewa.

After the eruption, Moses, who had fled to Inonda, was transferred by the Bishop, first to the mission station at Gona, later to Togahou. About 15 months later, he was posted to Inonda, following an appeal from the Sewa people to the Bishop. This group had not had schooling since the eruption. At Inonda, Moses asked for a house to be built for him as well as a school. His pupils included children not only from Sewa, but also Hohota, Hiriju, Ureo, Mosou, Ajoro and Dobuduru.
[582] Two of his daughters married Inonda men, one married an Ajoro man. When the Sewa people returned home, Moses stayed with his affines. With regard to gardening land, he is essentially no better off than the pastor at Sasembata. His Inonda affines lend him gardens from year to year. He also plants gardens at Hohota, owned by affines and a deacon. (See Crocombe and Hogbin, 1963: 33-35.) After he retired from teaching in 1959, his status soon dwindled. Crocombe (1966) has published an account of an initiation feast he held for his daughter's son. In keeping with his former role, this was given a highly acculturated flavour. It was on a larger scale than most of such feasts; Crocombe thought this was "to reaffirm his prestige and reinforce his stake in the village of his residence." (Ibid.: 78)

This was the man who brought Christianity to Inonda and the surrounding villages and who thus, in the context of culture change, must certainly be ranked a one-time "key personality." Yet his present status is demonstrably marginal. It is better than the Sasembata pastor's because he has affines to call upon, but the obligations of affines are strictly circumscribed: marriage gifts, help, if necessary sustenance. All these have been well provided; the affines have been good, even generous. Nor need the pastor fear for his descendants: they will be helped, in the usual Orokaiva way, by their paternal
[423] relatives if they stay in Inonda or Hohota. But gifts of land are
[431] not regarded as an appropriate reward for missionary services rendered by individuals.

Section 3: Residents of the Community

177 Among the key personalities in Sivepe over the period under consideration there were resisters as well as promoters of change. Among the resisters was undoubtedly Isemba, leader of the Seho clan, who died (unbaptised) in 1963. While this man was alive none of his clan joined the church; he did, however, agree with school education.
[777] I was not able to learn much about him except that he was most knowl-
[754] edgeable about the holding of feasts and their magic and that he feared

177 his powers of black magic would be undermined by the church if he
[797] joined it. It seems likely that it was in part his influence which made Seho less inclined than Jegase to make outside contacts.

One of his sons, however, did leave the village to join the
[754] A. P. C., returning at the time of the eruption. It was this son (the second in seniority) who was chosen by Isemba as his successor to the leadership, as he had fallen out with the oldest one.

177 This son, baptised under the name of Lawrence in 1963, is now
623 about 50 years of age, proud and withdrawn, and is both the feast-leader and the "committee" of Sivepe. His land holdings are relatively extensive; he has lent some of them on a year-to-year basis to mission
[429] personnel. He refuses to sell any of this land to the mission nor will he lend gardens to the mission as organisation. He may help an individual teacher; when that teacher leaves, the land reverts to him. At one time a teacher left just before the taro was ready for harvest; Lawrence took the land and the taro; if the successor of the departed teacher felt upset, he regarded this as a problem for the mission. For Lawrence, this was a grave political issue: if one such land transfer was agreed to, he felt this would effectively mean permanent occupation by the mission of all areas loaned by him.

In spite of appearances, this implied no anti-mission attitude. Lawrence was most interested in the benefits the mission could bring and supported the move of Sivepe to a location on Seho land, six chains from the mission, partly because he liked to be close. But he pursued a careful policy of balance of power. The same pragmatic approach marked his relations with government. He was among the first to acquire coffee trees and Malayan rubber trees; he was, as I have already said, a staunch advocate of the government's village improvement policies, but when the patrol officer called his one concern, as "committee" was to see him happily and speedily on his way again, preferably without incident.

During the year, the women's club wanted some land for their club house. He was on friendly terms with the secretary, who was his elder sister's grandchild and offered an ideal elevated site, between village and mission station which would have made the village entrance most impressive. He was a man who thought of things like that.

Lawrence has nine children, three married and three single
[665] daughters and three young sons. One of the daughters, rather against his will, married the most acculturated of the younger Jegase men; if such a thing as factionism existed at all in Sivepe, he and this younger man were clearly cast in the roles of opposing leaders. The second daughter married into Kongohambo, a mile from Sivepe. The third married a Smara man employed at Ilimo, but this man was said to maltreat his wife. Lawrence went to Ilimo and brought her home; this was regarded as quite proper even though bridewealth had been paid.

623 Lawrence was comparatively well off, largely because he was a
177 good coffee producer, but also because he received bridewealth from
471 three daughters, continuing gifts from his sons in law and from the

was much less marked when I took him with me to Inonda. He was a bachelor who had a penchant for courting girls he was, for some reason, unable to marry. While we were in Sivepe, his girl friend, though belonging to the Seho clan was rather too closely related to him on her mother's side. Her father was Lawrence's elder brother and the Seho clan generally was strongly opposed to the union; they therefore treated the affair as incestuous. The mission had wanted to send Leon for training in hospital work. He had been doing some of this at Sasembata, and it would have suited him. His father opposed the idea, considering that his knowledge of English, etc. would be too useful to lose. When I came, his calculation proved right, for Leon's presence and employment drew me, for some months, into a position of much dependence on that family. Leon was the only young man who did not join in the drum dances, and who never sat with the other men. Perhaps, his bachelor status partly explains this, but another bachelor of the same age did not keep away to nearly the same extent.

One difference between Inonda and Sivepe was that in the former place there was only one family through which adaptive ideas and decisions were transmitted to the community, and in practise only one man, whereas in Sivepe, there was a variety of influences: the Seho leader, the two older, and in many ways totally different older Jegase leaders, and several younger people each with their own fund of experience which helped them to interpret a changing social situation. This difference results not only from a different organisational pattern (based respectively on the "big man" and the equality ideology) but also from the mere difference of size. It may be argued that some at least of the multitude of avenues through which the modern world was made accessible to Sivepe was due to post-eruption measures in the resettlement villages. Of the leaders discussed here, however, not a single one (except the two young interpreters who were scarcely leaders) was educated in the post-eruption period. They may have been influenced by their close association with the mission; if so, it is hard to say to what extent this association explains their present attitudes. One may safely say that the association with the mission at the present time reinforces the change-directed ideology of Sivepe leadership.

423 dance in Sasembata. But they enjoy very much better conditions than
591 are usual for men who marry uxorilocally.
582 The mortality among the elderly at the time of the eruption was so great that many traditional customs and myths were lost among the Sangara with the elders who knew them. For instance, rituals carried on at birth in Sivepa are no longer practised in Hohorita. For the
731 rest, I did not see many differences between the villages in level
165 of acculturation. Housing conditions in Sivepa were better; money was more plentiful at Hohorita. Dances were far more carefully
177 practised and more expertly performed at Sivepa. Clearly, the Hohorita
184 people spent more time at their coffee; this was given as the reason for neglect in other matters. It may well be that cash-cropping above the level noted at Sivepa has necessary consequences of this sort unless technological changes occur. Ideologically, Hohorita is--as I demonstrated--more deeply involved with the concepts of the New Day than Sivepa.

Though no groups have left Hohorita since it was founded, the
621 co-residence of these many clans does make for a certain instability.
614 The leaders of the Oripa clan group told me that just after the eruption very few Oripa were left, but as the clan was becoming more numerous, it was beginning to think to establishing its own village. Besupa was harbouring similar thoughts. Both these clans were minority clans in their part of the village and this inevitably implied some subordination. In Sivepa, the fusion of Jegase and Timusu had established a fairly equal balance with Seho; as both clan groups were about equal in strength if the greater resources of Seho are taken into account. In Hohorita, however, the supremacy of Horeopa (and Sehopa in the back section of the village) could hardly be challenged. The councillor and the government are opposed to such fission and overcapping organisations such as the credit union, the women's club, the church, the school, etc. may gradually set up a firm esprit de corps. The importance of tree-crops (as opposed to shifting cultivation) in the Hohorita economy might be a further disincentive to the migration of groups to another village, but Oripa has in mind a new village site which would actually be closer to their coffee gardens.

Section 6: Conclusion

177 In this study, we have found three complex forces, acting as causes of changes, to be intertwined: forces acting throughout Papua and New Guinea to promote socio-economic development, the effect of the relocation of certain communities near Mount Lamington after the eruption, and the physical and cognitive effects of the eruption itself. The last-mentioned of these forces was far more disastrous for Sangara
731 than for the rest of the Northern District of Papua. In tracing the causes of culture change in Hohorita, we have to give especial emphasis
177

●[777]

to the helplessness of the survivors, the extraordinarily strong influence that was exerted upon them immediately after the disaster by Bishop Hand (resulting in many becoming mission teachers, the building of a church of especially high quality, scrupulous school-going by the children and other signs of compliance), stronger pressure than usual to succeed in skilled occupations, a more profound reappraisal of ideology under the impact of disaster as well as church influence, and finally the availability of more cash-cropping land than at Sasembata, as a result of depletion of the population.

In Sivepe, where little loss of life occurred, the pattern of changes differs from that in Inonda, but the difference may well be largely explainable by the superior facilities introduced, especially by the mission, into the Sasembata area as a response by the Anglican authorities to the disaster.

The paradox of Papuan culture change is its dependence on migration out of the rural areas. The striking changes of ideology seem to result always from travel and contact between the men who have been away and those who have stayed at home. In the district itself, the progressives are always those with outside experience. In Hohorita, these progressives had more varied and deeper experiences (perhaps because the home base was destroyed) and those who were urbanised continued constant contact with the village. Rural development has opened up some new economic opportunities, and the improvement of school services is opening up further opportunities, but it is only the returning traveller who understands these opportunities and leads his people in realising them. Relocation provides opportunities for village renewal and these opportunities are seized upon by the natural innovators within the villages (the returned migrants) to hasten the coming of the New Day.

Map XI

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797
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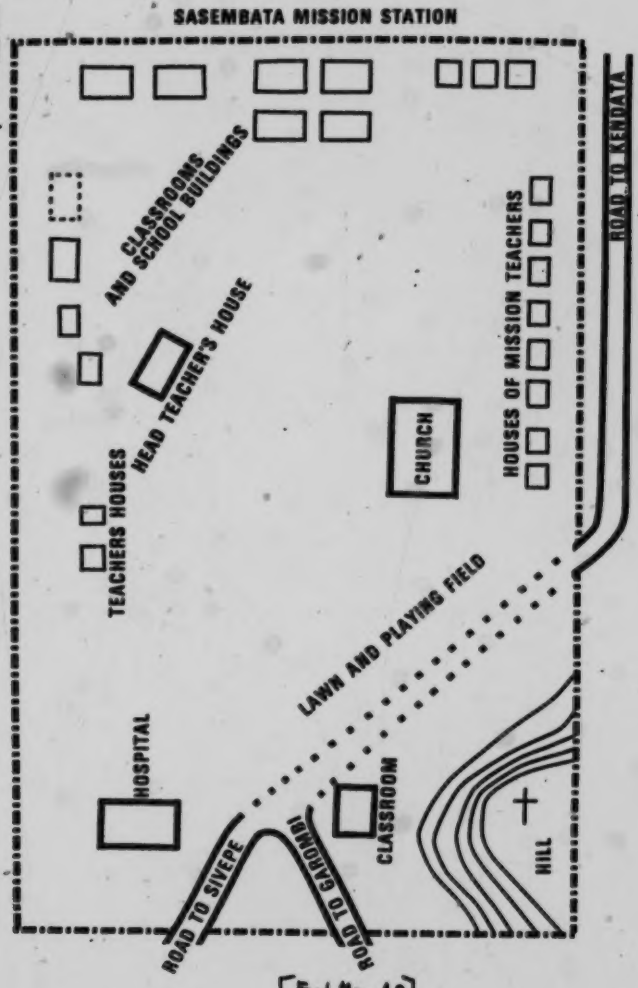
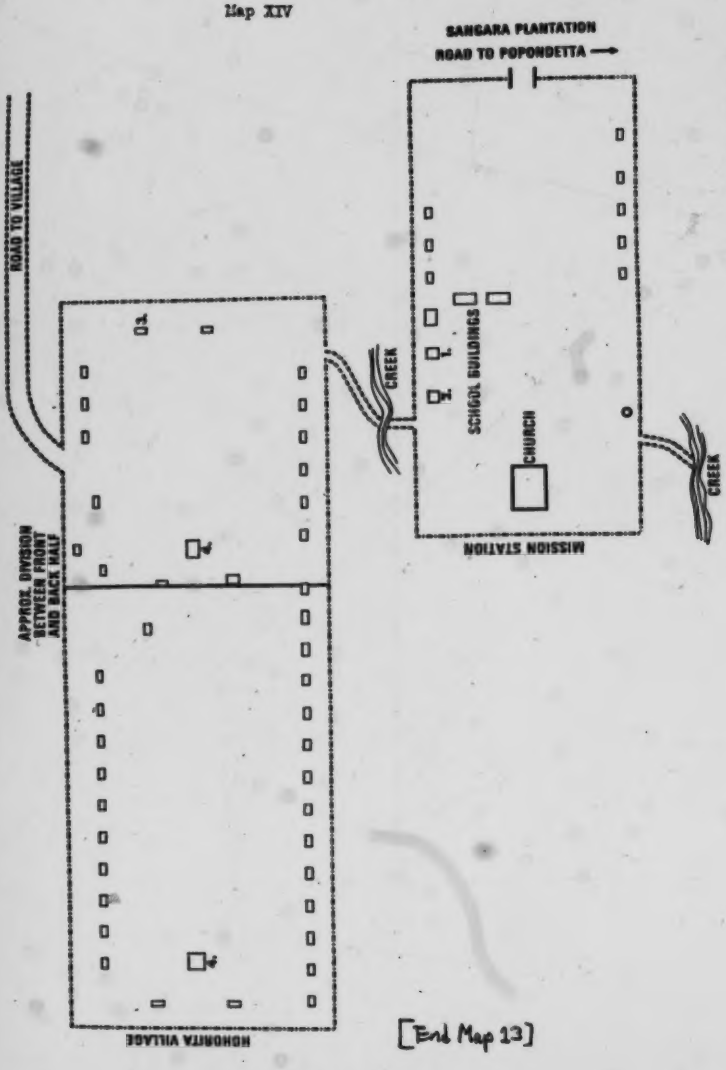


[End Map 10]

22: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1969 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mount Lamington

Map XIV



[End Map 13]

or even force Orokaiva settlement patterns from the traditional scattered hamlet system to village or even town living. Another tough question was how far Government should step in to supervise matters of economic and social welfare, including elementary schooling which hitherto policy had left almost wholly to the Anglican Mission. The majority of the mountain Orokaiva are now adherents of this Mission, the only body operating in the area. Questions relating to land tenure, social group realignment, leadership, law and order, and other matters involving local custom had also to be faced, especially in the course of the first experiments in resettlement.[4]

Officials and Mission workers reported that the explanations of the "cause" of the disaster given to them by Orokaiva, were, in general, of a supernatural nature: "God" was punishing them for "sins" such as "not supporting Mission and Government plans for development," "not building new churches as requested by the Bishop," or "not helping the Allies enough during the war." However much these may have pleased the hearers, the fact seems to be that there were resulting strong feelings of insecurity and even of guilt in their retrospective look at the pre-eruption way of life.[5] Officials who know the Orokaiva considered that these feelings undoubtedly helped to foster the extraordinary degree of cooperation and orderliness in situations where large numbers of people were necessarily herded together and shifted around without benefit of the traditional niceties and proprieties.

This raises the whole problem of interpreting the overt events here summarized in terms of their cultural and individual contexts. In discussing theory relating to the dynamics of change and resistance to change, the writer, along with others, has referred elsewhere to the general tendency for peoples to be pre-conditioned by the characteristic sets of their culture and personality norms, to be differentially "adaptable" or responsive to change in the face of new experiences.[6] The impression gained in this case is that subject to inevitable factors of shock and disorganization, the Orokaiva were culturally predisposed to respond to the traumatic experience here described with something approaching maximum adaptability.

The mountain Orokaiva are shifting cultivators, and supplement their staple food, taro, with sweet potato, yam, banana and sugar cane. Flesh from domestic pigs, chickens, dogs, and wild game is what Williams calls "a dainty rather than a diet." "Fresh ground," says this ethnographer, "is continually cleared for new plantings" in the typical pattern

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4. These matters are discussed particularly by C. S. Belshaw, an anthropologist working in Papua under the auspices of the Australian National University Research School of Pacific Studies, as a result of a visit to the area in April, 1951; see his "Social Consequences of the Mount Lamington Eruption," *Oceania*, 21, 4, pp. 241-252 (1951). This article was not seen until after the first draft of this paper was completed, and as the approach is considerably different the two papers are complementary rather than unduly overlapping.

5. Belshaw, *op. cit.*, p. 242, stresses this "guilt" factor.

6. F. J. Keesing, "Some Notes on Acculturation Study," Sixth Pacific Science Congress, *Proceedings*, IV, pp. 59-63 (Berkeley, 1940); "Cultural Dynamics and Administration," Seventh Pacific Science Congress, *Proceedings*, 14 pp., mimeographed (New Zealand, 1949).

241 of "dry" gardening, with fire and the digging stick as the essential tools, and either long term rotation of previously occupied areas or breaking in of new forest land. "The immediate family . . . is a self sufficient unit" and "the Orokaiva words for 'work' and 'garden' are one and the same." Consistent with this mobile economic base, settlements are rarely more than hamlet size, with "hardly more than a dozen houses" on the average. Materials for housing are readily available, so that residence can be easily shifted.

The hamlet is based normally on patrilocal-patrilineal principles of organization, with a known strong tendency for new groups to form by "hiving off." Clan affiliations are reckoned from quite recent ancestors, so that at times a given clan may all be in one settlement, though more usually scattered through several closely related settlements. The generally monogamous family units are under the "immediate authority of the father," while the affairs of the local living units are under loose supervision by the hamlet and clan elders, centered on a "men's house" and working together, usually with one strong senior man as "leader." Personal property consists of mobile goods such as tools and utensils, clothing, and body ornaments.

In spite of ethnic similarities over a wide region, Williams speaks of the Orokaiva as being a "more than usually quarrelsome and disunited people"—a strong statement to make in the New Guinea setting. Their pre-pacification history was marked by "feuds, dispersals . . . a veritable whirlpool of strife, migration, and counter-migration." Beaver, too, refers to their "turbulent and restless life . . . migration was, in the main, a matter of attacking, fleeing, and pursuing." Supernatural weapons in the form of sorcery were especially feared. Even for Papuans, the Orokaiva proved to be unusually hostile and resistant to whites. Women were often seen accompanying the war parties, carrying food and weapons, and sometimes joining in fights. Williams goes on to say that while the "elementary small sympathy-groups" (the local kin and settlement units, and to a lesser extent the dispersed clan units) were tightly knit, their external relations were precarious. "There were peacemakings or truces, but the truce was always a fragile one, and no (settlement) lived in permanent security." "Hiving off" occurred sometimes as the result of a "quarrel and the fear of retaliatory magic," but more often it was "simply the lax method of horticulture which necessitates the clearing of many areas in succession and sometimes a temporary settlement on a distant site." Another factor could have been food scarcities which tend to occur in exceptionally dry southeast winter seasons. During this period, north and west Lamington area is in a rainshadow zone, and people may have to scatter out to live on wild roots and fruits. The implication of this is that even the excision of the 4,000 persons from the Orokaiva group who were killed involved no extensive shattering of valued ties.

Williams and others judge that with the modern pacification, the Orokaiva have tended to disperse in even smaller living units than before. This appears to apply particularly to the relatively densely populated Lamington slopes, though a few instances of larger aggregations approaching a village type also occurred, particularly as a result of Mission influence. Over against this greater dispersal, the people have

problem—and one which the Orokaiva will not be equipped to solve when stocks of these animals are eventually restored. It seems fair to prophesy that as the people become habituated to living in the shadow of the volcano, many of them will quietly "hive off" from the present concentrations and go their familiar economic way. Alternatively, official opposition to this trend could produce growing tensions, including anti-Government hostility.

5. Other factors can be noted congruent with the above points. Some individuals are said to fear that in larger communities they will face more extensive demands for village maintenance and other Government and Mission needs than under the old patterns of settlement. Belshaw points to a complication of the labor situation in the resettlement areas due to a request by the Mission that its adherents devote some time to building new Mission stations in the area. As indices of the increasing normality of life, there is some revival of dancing and music, as well as keen sports interest.

On the basis of such factors, the writer ventured to present to the Administrator and a group of his top officials a view opposed to a compulsive concentration policy. He suggested, instead, that three or four main "centers of attraction" be developed outside the danger zone and on the main road, corresponding to the principal ethnic concentrations (Sangara, Isivita, Wasida). Here would be located subdistrict offices, Government boarding schools, medical aid posts, community center houses, experimental garden plots, and other facilities. Housing space could be made available to those desiring to settle around such a center voluntarily and try out more concentrated and sedentary living. The Mission could also use such centers for their stations if it wished. The writer also recommended cutting a series of crossroads more or less at right angles to the main road, and locating each "center of attraction" at a main crossroad point. These secondary roads would serve to draw settlement away from the overcrowded chain of villages that have developed along the one main road. This plan would enable those people who do not wish to be concentrated to scatter out in a wider pattern of dispersal for garden development; it would offer quick routes of escape on foot or in vehicles in case of the threat of further eruptions, ready access for government welfare services, and for transporting commercial crops to market. The writer has subsequently been informed that these proposals in general correspond with the policy which was officially adopted—crossroads have been cut and government centers and facilities have been built up at three key points.

The second problem referred to earlier, namely the delicate one of Government versus Mission responsibilities, will be discussed only briefly. The Mission teachers claim that the great majority of the mountain Orokaiva are adherents: those remaining outside the church do so by conscious choice. In the wake of the eruption the Anglican authorities sent in a very active, young Bishop who was familiar with the people, to take charge in place of the resident white staff killed at Sangara. Mission medical workers took over some of the important health responsibilities, including a Mission hospital at Oro Bay. "Native" Papuan Mission teachers started elementary vernacular schooling in the camps.

This was in accordance with the official policy of the Territory that mission bodies shall normally handle at least the first four years of "village" level schooling. In such a major center as Ilimo, however, the question arose as to whether Government should step in to provide more adequate schooling facilities as part of its "community development" program. This was complicated by the fact that children of non-adherents had to come under the Mission teachers if they were to get schooling. The writer was told that in the morning these teachers went through the camp with switches to get children to school. Another potential conflict was foreshadowed at the time of the writer's visit by the Mission's decision to send in agricultural workers in the face of the active program of rehabilitation by Government technical officers.

The writer gave it as his opinion that the Government should not abrogate its responsibilities in essential matters of rehabilitation, that it should insist on coordination rather than rivalry. It is understood that this view has been made policy, even in the face of the great sensitivity of Government in such delicate relationships that could reflect back in the form of criticism by religious groups in the metropolitan country. Government schools have been opened and the people are free to choose between them and the Mission institutions. Official medical services have become well organized. It will undoubtedly take time to unravel the question of the Mission role in agriculture, particularly as it is bound up with the religiously-oriented cooperative movement. There could be further new cults centered upon gardening and, as with various other post-war movements in the New Guinea area, these could be either pro- or anti-Government or Mission or both.[10]

The possibility of transforming Orokaiva agriculture from the shifting to a sedentary basis deserves a special final word. A recent report of the Director of Agriculture stresses this problem as of prime importance to the development of

10. Though extensive materials exist in unpublished official reports on post-war New Guinea cults (e.g., the Paliau movement in Manus, the Yali cult in Madang, the Tomu Kabu cult in the Purari delta) very little has been published. Available references are Belshaw, C.S., "The Significance of Modern Cults in Melanesian Development," *The Australian Outlook*, 4, 2, pp. 116-125 (1950); de Bruyn, J.V., "The Manseren Cult of Biak," *South Pacific* (Journal of the Australian School of Pacific Administration, Sydney), 5, 1, pp. 1-10 (1950); Guiart, J., "Cargo Cults and Political Evolution in Melanesia," *South Pacific*, 5, 7, pp. 128-129 (1951); United Nations Mission, *Report of Visiting Mission, 1950* section on Paliau movement, reproduced in *South Pacific*, 4, pp. 207-208 (1950). A brief analysis of modern cults is given in Keesing, "Research Opportunities in New Guinea," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 8, 2 (Summer, 1952).

the Territory to the point of self-sufficiency and dietary adequacy and one on which almost no progress has been made. Theoretically the problem does not look difficult, in view of the characteristic adaptability of the Orokaiva, the loose group organization which involves no elaborately structured hierarchy of vested interests in the *status quo*, and the freedom of families to experiment as they wish as more or less independent production units. But here, as in the case of shifting gardeners in many comparable situations, the problem is one of motivation, of incentives. Among the Orokaiva, for all the enthusiasm they have engendered, past religious and cooperative movements have not struck seriously at the rotational basis of cropping, or introduced fertilization and other soil-maintenance techniques. The territorial Department of Agriculture is desperately short of manpower and it is not likely that it can afford to station a permanent cadre of technical personnel to guide and supervise this still quite remote district. It is also very doubtful that the Anglican mission could do so. Nevertheless, at the centers referred to above, the present dynamic situation justifies giving encouragement and aid on a voluntary basis to any families and individuals who may wish to try out sedentary cultivation, market saleable products, and on a cooperative basis of organization where desired. Such a non-compulsive widening of the range of cultural alternatives seems in line with a current strong stirring of ambition among some of the younger, schooled Papuans to adapt to the modern world and have a greater voice in the affairs of the Territory.

To the extent that this paper presents a correct interpretation, its implication is that this catastrophic shock has produced something approximating a minimum degree of cultural trauma, considering the demographic dimensions and the destruction and death involved. Predispositions in Orokaiva culture and personality favored relatively easy "adaptive" behavior in the face of crisis. The remarkably effective relief measures taken by the Australian authorities helped materially to cushion the situation. Any attempt by Government and Mission to use the emergency to manipulate such a people and culture arbitrarily in drastically new economic and socio-political directions would seem foredoomed to failure, and would generate unwanted tensions. Yet opportunities are clearly present for economic and other stimulation and education of a voluntary and permissive type. Considered as a case study in cultural dynamics it is illustrative both of internal readjustment in a culture where a sharp shock and break in continuity occurs, and of the implications of attempted control and direction in culture process by a dominant outside authority.

[p.22-B]

rather than security was the main motive. Villagers were able to use the land they had occupied before the eruption.

The Orokaiva case was therefore anomalous in a comparative study of community displacement. There was no new physical or social environment to which the Orokaiva had to adapt. There was, however, a very traumatic experience and a temporary displacement. Moreover, the eruption did permanently change some significant geographic features of the district: the network of roads, village sizes, village locations in relation to paved roads, the location of the administrative center and institutions like the hospital and mission. As these facts have been fully covered in my earlier report, in this chapter I treat them briefly and then turn to a somewhat broader but related question: How does a cataclysmic event such as this eruption (and the temporary relocations that followed) affect the structure of Orokaiva society?[8]

My research included three intensive studies of single villages. The relocated village on which the fullest data were collected was Sivepe, situated 7 miles from the crater, on fertile, well-watered, well-drained volcanic loam, with a population density of 180 persons per square mile. Like all the villages west of the crater, Sivepe suffered hardly any casualties but the people fled in panic and were accommodated in the evacuation camp at Ilimo, a few miles west of Kumusi River near the road to Kokoda. They stayed at the camp until May, after which two of the local clan groups returned home while the third was relocated in one of the large villages established along the main Buna–Kokoda road after the eruption.[9] This third clan group returned to Sivepe early in 1952. Sivepe was rebuilt less than 1 mile from the old site. The most important immediate consequence of the eruption, as far as Sivepe was concerned, was the establishment of a large mission complex at Sasembata, 1 mile away. With the assistance of surrounding villages, the mission built a large school, a large church, and a hospital. One reason for this development was the establishment, by the government, of a large village for victims of the eruption. This was built at Kongohambo (maximum population 900), a quarter mile from the mission station. The mission services remained after the Kongohambo evacuees had returned to their own areas shortly after 1953.

For Sivepe, therefore, the eruption led directly to two highly important event sequences: first at the evacuation camp; later in rela-

24: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1973) 1977
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

ject of the wrath of the mountain. There are, however, two interesting differences. The first is that in the Orokaiva explanation we find an opposition between two tribes (Waseta innocent; Sangara guilty). In the Yega explanation we find an opposition between ethnic groups (Papuans of the Northern District innocent; Europeans guilty). This classing together of the Papuans of an entire region is a departure from traditional tribalism. It reflects an ideology aimed at maximizing indigenous power by the establishment of an intertribal regional coalition.

The second difference lies in the role of Sumbiripa (or whoever the angry deity was) in the two explanations. In the Orokaiva version, the transgression was against the sacred domain of Sumbiripa and thus of a familiar traditional type. In the Yega version, the punishing God assumes a strangely political role in taking the side of the Papuans against their enemies, the whites. The crime of the whites admittedly took place near the mountain, though not in the sacred domain. Sumbiripa was never, in any other context, described as a general defender or avenger in support of "his" people. Indeed he seems to be playing a somewhat Jehovah-like role in this tale. We are here in the sphere of the Cargo Cults or millennial movements rather than in that of traditional Melanesian religion.

Meanwhile no mention is made of the 3,500 Sangara who died in the disaster. This would have weakened the argument, for any reference to the Sangara victims might have suggested that they too were worthy of punishment. Though the Yega probably do think so, it would not have been expedient to say so when an intertribal alliance was contemplated. Here we are obviously closer to ideological rhetoric than to philosophical speculation.

The third explanation of the disaster is the one that has attracted the most attention by previous writers. Belshaw, who met Orokaiva survivors a few weeks after the eruption, records the following observations (1951:242):

> Some people said that this was God's visitation because they had disobeyed the Bishop's instructions to build new churches. Others said that God had punished them because they had not helped the Allies sufficiently during the war and because some of them betrayed missionaries to the Japanese. [Others again mentioned] lack of cooperation in Mission and Government plans for development. . . . This sense of guilt is a most important factor in resettlement attitudes.

24: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1973) 1977
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

Keesing (1952:18) agrees with this summary, adding that the eruption resulted in "strong feelings of insecurity and even of guilt in their retrospective look at the pre-eruption way of life."

A great deal of evidence supports Belshaw and Keesing in their suggestion that in 1951 the Orokaiva ascribed the eruption to the anger of the Christian God and thought they had brought this anger on themselves by various transgressions. Orokaiva informants reported that this view of the eruption was widely current at Ilimo evacuation camp. It is reflected in a song about the eruption which is still sung by Sivepe youth. This song declares the omnipotence of God and man's absolute dependence on him. It also attests to a wholly Christian eschatology: the abode of the dead is Heaven, where the living will later meet their brothers who died in the eruption. The song admits the guilt of the dead ('our brothers on earth had many temptations'), but the strongest emphasis is on the suffering of the living through the loss of their 'brothers'. Unlike Job, the singer is far too polite to contend with God and criticize his actions. He does not openly and clearly identify God as the author of his sufferings, but God's responsibility is subtly implied.

The rationale of this explanation is not obvious. Quite clearly those who believe that God and not Sumbiripa was responsible for the disaster have some belief in Christianity. In response to contact with the white man they have developed an ideology supporting the work of the missions. But how do they explain the eruption? It seems very clear that in 1951 many explained it as retribution for their lack of respect for the Christian God. But Orokaiva Christians interviewed in 1966 and 1967 rejected this explanation as resting on a misunderstanding of the nature of God. Father Albert, who composed the song referred to above, was one of those questioned. He said that many of those who died in the eruption were little children. He did not think God would punish the innocent along with the guilty. On the other hand, he did ascribe a divine purpose to the eruption. Father Albert said the Orokaiva used to have no idea of the end of the world; this notion was taught by Christianity. After the disaster the people discussed it a great deal: when they saw the sky darken and people dying from the blast, they thought the end of the world had come. God had shown them what the end would be like. In other words,

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Father Albert thought that God sent the eruption as a sign. Orokaiva Christians would generally agree with this view, though none of those interviewed formulated it so clearly.

From the viewpoint of this study, the question whether the Orokaiva considered the eruption as a punishment or as a sign is perhaps not a crucial one. In either case, whoever believes that God was responsible must also believe that a dire fate awaits anyone who fails in his obligations to the mission.

Comparing the three explanations surveyed so far, we note that the Christian explanation, like the Yega one and unlike the Waseta version, attached no significance to tribal divisions. God (like the Sumbiripa of the Yega) makes no distinction between tribes, but he does distinguish between the disobedient Papuans of the region and the administrators and missionaries these Papuans failed to obey. The former are guilty but not the latter.

Christian and Yega theories are opposed as to who is the guilty party. Indeed, the Christian explanation omits all reference to European deaths on the mountain, just as the Yega version suppressed the fact of the Sangara victims. The reason is no doubt the same: rhetoric demands that one should not in the same breath advocate a coalition with the white power bearers and admit that the latter suffered many deaths in circumstances implying their guilt.

With regard to connotations, all three systems differentiate between either tribes or ethnic groups that fell victim to the disaster, even though such differentiation is insignificant for explanatory purposes. If we use a minus sign to designate the social groups classed as guilty and a plus sign for the groups classed as innocent (though in fact the latter, too, suffered serious losses), we find:

	Victims		
Explanation	Waseta	Sangara	European
Waseta	+	−	omitted
Yega	+	+	−
Christian	−	−	+

I shall briefly mention a fourth system, though the explanation it contained was put forward by a small minority and was but feebly believed. Several Orokaiva close to the mission maintain nowadays that the eruption was due solely to geophysical causes. The mission authorites put forward this explanation to counter criti-

weapon, since the person who cuts down his own tree to injure himself shows anger about a hostile act perpetrated by some unnamed person. He thus makes a claim for community sympathy and possible restitution (Williams 1940). Self-accusation is a form of self-injury and therefore at once places an obligation on the *sufferer* of the supposed original injury. In this sense an acknowledgment of guilt by Orokaiva would place some obligation on Sumbiripa or God to forgive them. Thus we can never ignore the transactional element in what is manifestly a sincere state of contrition.

It is far more complicated to explain the anger of the Christian God, and people's belief in it, than to explain the anger of Sumbiripa. At the time of the eruption, few Orokaiva had been baptized, whereas it was precisely in Sangara territory that the mission was well established and had many adherents. Most of the persons who thought they had been punished by God were actually still pagan, which strictly should have put them out of reach of his wrath. We need to reconstruct as best we can what kind of exchange relationship was deemed to exist in 1951.

We can appraise this only if we consider briefly the total system of relationships of the Orokaiva within the colonial macrosystem, namely the social unit comprising Orokaiva, mission, government, and traders. Theories about the punishment of God referred not only to Orokaiva neglect of the mission but also neglect of instructions and advice given by the government. The traders were never mentioned.

One common characteristic of government and mission is that both institutions believe they are the Papuans' benefactors and say so on many occasions. In particular, it is on these supposed benefits that they base any moral claims they make on the Orokaiva. When the eruption occurred it was therefore reasonable, from the Orokaiva viewpoint, to conclude that their slowness in satisfying the claims of government and mission had aroused in them great anger and that God, who manifestly was looking after the white authorities, acted as agent of the punishment.

In exchange relations it is a fixed policy to satisfy the claims of important partners first and be much slower about the others. The fact that the whites, in spite of their immense wealth, had a fairly low partnership ranking is not difficult to explain. If we glance at the kind of interaction typical of the years 1900 to 1950, we find

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whose contact with this aspect of European culture heretofore had been rather slight. The impact of these intensive programs should not be overestimated, however. For people whose world had been shattered by disaster and relocation, adult education was, according to administrators involved in the program, hardly a major concern. Belshaw (1951) expressed the view that the villagers would agree to almost any reform in their villages, as long as they would be allowed to leave Ilimo quickly and return to their land.

Nonetheless, the terms of the exchange relationship between administration and mission on the one hand and the Orokaiva on the other had become a great deal clearer and more profound. The Australians had made gifts and had stated what they wanted from the Orokaiva in detailed, explicit terms. Furthermore, this had been done under the shadow of a calamity which was interpreted by the mission as a sign of God, if not God's punishment, indicating the dangers of not satisfying the Orokaiva's new exchange partners.

The administration has leveled much criticism against the mission for promulgating the theory that the eruption was a visitation of the wrath of God. Numerous instances are quoted of ecclesiastical blackmail: the bishop allegedly threatened to blow up the mountain a second time unless he was obeyed. The bishop denies these allegations and claims to have discouraged the belief that the eruption was a divine punishment of the (largely unbaptized) Orokaiva. He said it was the Orokaiva themselves who had this idea of retribution.

To explain the Orokaiva idea of the anger of God found in the preceding pages, I have brought together a somewhat haphazard collection of signs which make no sense if arranged in a synchronic pattern. They are a sequence of transactions which took place within the colonial macrosystem and were selected on no other grounds than that they were commonly invoked by Orokaiva in discourse about the 'new age'. Soldiers on punitive expeditions, physical punishment at the plantations, the warm exchange relations with Allied troops, the local government councils viewed as a gift from the whites to the Papuans—all these are random selections from history and owe their place in the analysis of the metalanguage to the fact that the Orokaiva commonly used them to signify the opposition 'old order/new age'.

Earlier in this section, I explained the idea of the 'anger of Sum-

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biripa' in terms of a simple transactional sequence. The 'anger of God' can be similarly explained, though here the sequence is more complex. As a general device for constructing metalanguages, transactional sequences are of course wholly inadequate. I have, however, indicated that in the Orokaiva cognitive system God is classified as an exchange partner (though more powerful than all other possible partners).

The eruption thus becomes one of a sequence of signs which express the development of the exchange partnership with God. Similarly, in other explanatory systems, the eruption becomes part of a sequence of exchanges with Sumbiripa. It follows from this argument that the eruption changed the relationship with God or Sumbiripa, in the sense that a sign of such magnitude provoked a response. While the sign may have existed as such only in the minds of the Orokaiva, the response was on the level of real social, economic, political, and religious behavior. The general form of Orokaiva metalanguages, as exemplified in the case of the eruption, is sketched in figure 1.

EXPLANATIONS AND THE COGNITIVE SYSTEM

We have now surveyed the four explanations given of the eruption of Mount Lamington. In my discussion of the denotative systems, I concentrated on two of them: the anger of Sumbiripa and the anger of God. I did not specifically discuss the geophysical explanation because it was too summary for analysis, nor did I analyze the Yega explanation further because of the uncertainty about the agent of vengeance. We have seen that the four explanations were, in each case, not only a psychological response to calamity and a philosophical exercise but also expressed ideologies essentially unconnected with the eruption and that, in this respect, discourse about the eruption was actually rhetoric used to express the ideology.

The coexistence of four such ideologies in the same society poses obvious questions about their interrelations. Were they held by separate groups who did not communicate? Did they reflect divisions within the society? Furthermore, a formal problem arises: as these four explanatory systems all arise in one, fairly homogeneous society, are they in a sense cognate and do they display features of homology? On the basis of Orokaiva data, it may be possible to

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121 construct a higher-level system which accounts for all the explanations taken together.

131 Let us first survey the relationships between the explanatory
809 systems on the social level. They do not logically contradict one
184 another: they can be and are held simultaneously by the same people. There is no need to believe that the eruption was caused *either* by God *or* by Sumbiripa nor that the intended victims were *either* [776] Orokaiva *or* Europeans. My informants did not seem to view God and Sumbiripa as wholly distinct. Whether one ascribed the eruption to one or the other depended on the context of the discourse. Most Orokaiva do connect the death of European public servants and army personnel at Higaturu with the hangings that occurred after the war. They believe that these Europeans acted wrongly and that God punished them. But at the same time they believe that the eruption was a sign of God's anger toward the Orokaiva who had not followed the laws of the Church of England.

One cannot, therefore, gauge the relative strength of the three ideologies by counting what proportion of a sample of Orokaiva informants subscribes to one or another of the three explanations. One can, however, evaluate the general effect of each of the three ideologies. The belief that Sumbiripa caused the eruption had only the mildest historical consequences—merely the reinforcement of a hunting taboo. The belief that the mountain erupted to punish Europeans might have become historically important if the mystical Yega cooperative movement had grown to a major millennial [794] cult, but this did not happen. In fact, the Yega cooperatives went into a decline after 1951, owing to crop failure, the departure of its advisors, and governmental opposition in the form of economic and legal obstacles.

131 None of these reasons would have sufficed to kill the movement
657 had there been, in the 1950s, a strong opposition to the adminis-
794 tration of the Northern District. There is, however, no evidence of this. On the contrary there was, between 1951 and 1967, steadily increasing support for the ideologies advocated by government and mission. In this context the theory blaming the eruption on previous noncooperation by Orokaiva obtains some historical significance. It would be absurd to suggest that the increased support can actually be explained by the existence of the Orokaiva theory about the eruption. On the other hand, this support is now undoubtedly more powerfully motivated than if the eruption had

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 330]

1961
1964
1967

FIGURE 1 Example of Orokaiva Explanation of Anger of God

PARTNER	OBJECT OF SOCIAL EXCHANGE	OBJECT OF MEDIATION	OBJECT OF SOCIAL EXCHANGE	PARTNER
God	Offer of Relationship	Mission seeks entry.	Acceptance of Relationship	Orokaiva
	Development of Relationship	Welcome and material help.	Neglect of Relationship	
		Gifts, education, medicine. Claim for church allegiance.		
		Inadequate material help and church allegiance.		
		Exhortation to greater participation.		

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784
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never occurred. The vast increase in the number of baptisms indicates a significant development in the pattern of transactions in the exchange relations with the new god.

The effect should not, however, be overestimated, as the environment and the socioeconomic situation did not change significantly immediately after the eruption. No socioeconomic transformation occurred because of the eruption or the belief that the eruption itself was divine retribution for noncooperation with the government. On the other hand, significant social, political, and economic changes did happen within ten years or so of the eruption; and when these changes occurred, they were interpreted in a manner consistent with the Christian explanation of the eruption.

Let us now consider the relationship between the various explanations on the religiophilosophical level. Perhaps the best starting point for our analysis is our apperception that the three religious explanations have to do with political strategies—that is, with the maximization of power. It may be enlightening to look at these strategies in terms of the Orokaiva's own general ideas about power. The Orokaiva word for 'power' is *ivo*, a mana-like concept envisaging 'power' as derived from spirits and bringing success in difficult ventures by overcoming misfortune, obstacles, and enemies. Misfortunes are explained by 'power' coming from a hostile source—for instance, from one's human or spirit exchange partner during a cycle of negative reciprocity.

The first of these three explanations postulates the existence of a negative exchange cycle with Sumbiripa, so that the people's 'power' depends on placating Sumbiripa and avoiding his anger in the future. The second explanation postulates that, in fact, the disaster was a restoration of the 'power' of the Papuans, as it punished Europeans who hanged Orokaiva ambushers. The third explanation, however, raises some difficulties. The restoration of 'power' here seems to depend on obedience which must be shown to the mission and the government.

This question of obedience is perhaps more one of degree than of essence. Students of religion (such as van der Leeuw 1938) distinguish between relations of "manipulation" and "obedience" which may exist between man and the gods. In this sense the relations with Orokaiva deities, including Sumbiripa, would tend to be manipulative. On the other hand, the relationship with the Christian deity involves far greater and far more diffuse demands,